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REGIME THWARTS ALLIANCE AMONG OPPOSITION

Paris LE MONDE in French 30 Aug 79 p 5

[Article by J-P Peroncel-Hugoz: "Regime Tries To Prevent Alliance Between Marxist Opponents and Islamic Fundamentalists"]

[Text] Marxist opponents--including Neguib Hilali, an attorney before the Cairo Court, who had prolonged his fast until Monday night, 27 August--ended the hunger strike they had begun following their arrest in mid-August (LE MONDE dated 18 and 21 August). According to the Egyptian Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights (an offshoot of the Progressive Rally, a legal opposition party made up of Marxists, Nasirians and Moslem reformists), Hilali, imprisoned in the citadel, had meant to protest the legislation of exception under which he had been brought before the State Security Court along with some 50 other Egyptians arrested at the same time. He is not alone in Egypt in thinking that this special court, admissible in time of war "to protect the domestic front," is no longer justifiable now that peace has been signed with Israel.

The imprisoned opponents who have been charged with the "revival of a forbidden political movement," in this case the Egyptian Communist Party, asked to be tried under common law. Several of them had been charged with the same offense during a previous arrest in 1975. Some of the prisoners' families protested against practices contrary to those advocated over the past few years by the rais himself; they involve night arrests without search warrants and mishandling of persons and personal effects. Chehata Haroun's daughter--he is a Cairo lawyer member of the Progressive Rally and one of the rare Jews not to have fled his country during Nasir's regime--wrote to the rais' wife, Jehane Sadat, to complain about procedures which many believed to be nothing more than bad memories. However, Haroun seems to have escaped the state security police and gone underground, as communist chansonnier Fouad Negm did last year.

The Egyptian regime initiated the arrests fearing that rising food prices during Ramadan--usual but always the cause of discontent among the lowest social classes--would be exploited by the various political opposition factions, particularly Marxist and Islamic fundamentalist. It also feared that left and right extremists would seize this opportunity to seal a tactical alliance as it recently happened in Sudan. In Khartoum, Marshal Numayri's regime--which is

similar to Cairo's--recently faced a coalition regrouping Moslems, communists and Baasists and underwent violent internal upheavals in the process.

In Egypt, a rapprochement between fundamentalists and various elements claiming communist ties has been taking shape in the universities ever since these elements have come to realize they could not fight numerically against the "religious wave;" however, faced with the government's security apparatus, this "alliance" has not yet been implemented.

According to unsubstantiated rumors, people from the Islamic community were brought in for questioning, but the Moslem fasting month was calm.

Several members of the Progressive Rally were among the arrested leftist opponents, but the Egyptian police believe that most clandestine Egyptian communists will be found among politically unaffiliated persons like Attorney Naguib Hilali or Mrs Zoki Mourad. This movement which until now had not been particularly active, but which has branches in Beirut, Paris and London, seems to be using the same tactics as most of the other Arab communist parties: offer of participation in any "nationalist and progressive" government and total opposition to any "pro-American and anti-popular" regime.

Let us recall that the first Egyptian communist party was created after World War I, but no party officially claiming to be communist has ever been able to obtain legalization in Cairo. Moreover, it is a law adopted in 1946 by Ismail Sedki Pacha's government, under King Farouk, and maintained after the 1952 Revolution--a law calling for 10 years of hard labor for the revival of a forbidden party--which risks to be applied to Attorney Hilali and the other prisoners in the Cairo citadel and Tourah penitentiary.

Unless, as it has happened several times in the past, once the authorities deem they have hindered, at least temporarily, the rapprochement between fundamentalists and communists, they discreetly free the prisoners in the near future and let the case become bogged down in the marasm of Egyptian procedures.

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CSO: 4800

PROBLEMS OF DOMESTIC SUBSIDY SYSTEM REVIEWED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 31 Jul 77 p 4

/Article by Jamil George: "Subsidies--the Problem and the Solution"/

/Text/ The issue of subsidies is one that is raised anew every year when the new budget is drawn up. Reaching decisions on the issue is the special field not just of economists, but of politicians as well. Since it is a man-faceted issue which concerns the broad base of people with limited incomes, it starts with the production of bread-discs and goes on to children's milk and development of the public sector.

Owing to the importance of the issue, Dr Mustafa Khalil, the prime minister, has taken upon his shoulders the responsibility for an integrated study, and everyone is to contribute his views to the decision. It had been stipulated that the study was to be completed last month but the prime minister assigned his advisor, Dr Ibrahim Milmi 'Abd-al-Rahman, to request further studies and arrive at the truth of the data from which the political leaders' decision will be derived.

The questions now being raised are, What is the consequence of 7 months of study? What did the ministries say about subsidizing ordinary bread-discs, rice, fava beans and lentils? The quotas on ration cards for tea, oil and sugar? Subsidies on agricultural products, oil, and housing and their effect on the citizen? AL-AKHBAR presents the result of opinions in this research, which is a beginning toward further study which has a further 6 months to the date on which the new budget goes into effect.

A Disc of Ordinary Bread

Bread is the basic, stable commodity; it is on every table, the tables of the rich and the poor. The source of wheat supply lies either in imports or local production surplus; until 1977 the latter was brought in by the acquisition system, according to which the producer would bring in his own share. As the increase in consumption of wheat flour progressed, the amount of local production brought in annually declined from 202,000 tons in 1977 to 86,000 tons last year.

With the drop in the supply of local wheat production, the population increase, and the misuse of bread (which was used to feed livestock and poultry as a result of the rise in fodder prices), the result was that we came to use 3.48 million tons of flour just to produce ordinary bread, which was sold for half a piaster /per disc/.

Seven Alternate Solutions

Therefore the Ministry of Supply proposes a number of alternatives from which the political leaders can choose the suitable ones. These alternatives focus on adjusting the weight and price of the disc, once it is improved, as follows:

A disc weighing 135 grams and selling for half a piaster will not realize any savings.

A disc weighing 145 grams and selling for 1 piaster will realize savings of 163.6 million pounds.

A disc of 150 grams at 1 piaster will realize savings of 152 million pounds.

A disc of 155 grams at 1 piaster will realize savings of 141.5 million pounds.

A disc of 160 grams at 1 piaster will realize savings of 130.3 million pounds.

There are two other alternatives whose goal is to increase the cost of production or improve the bread.

One, a 154-gram disc at 1 piaster will realize savings of 126.1 million pounds.

Two, a 155-gram disc at 1 piaster will realize savings of 134.9 million pounds.

Western Bread Too

Western bread was also the subject of study by the Ministry of Supply, which discovered that our consumption of this kind of bread this year will rise to 355 tons. The study also covered alternatives to bring about savings.

The weight of a loaf is 150 grams: at 1 piaster, it will not realize any savings.

A 150-gram loaf, at 1.5 piasters, will realize savings of 14.9 million pounds.

A 150-gram loaf, at 2 piasters, will realize savings of 29.2 million pounds.

A 100-gram loaf, at 1 piaster, will realize savings of 14.9 million pounds.

In the event the cost of production rises by 3 pounds per ton, the studies discovered that a loaf of 125 grams priced at 1 piaster will bring about savings of 5.2 million pounds. In the event the cost of production rises by 1.5 pounds per sack, at a weight of 127 grams and a price of 1 piaster, this will achieve savings of 5.2 million pounds.

Spaghetti and Rice

The alternative to bread is spaghetti or rice. These two commodities were also the subject of study by the Ministry of Supply, which discovered that we use 235,000 tons of flour to produce spaghetti. Taking one of the following price increase alternatives, the value of the subsidy granted to high-class flour used in this industry will drop:

With a sales price to the factory of 67.8 pounds per ton of flour, a kilogram of spaghetti sold for 10 piasters will not realize any savings.

In the event the sales price to the factory is raised to 100 pounds, for sale at 13.6 piasters per kilogram, savings of 7.6 million pounds will be realized.

In the event the price to the factory is raised to 120 pounds, if a kilogram is sold for 15.6 piasters that will bring about savings of 12.3 million pounds.

In the event the price is raised to 150 pounds per kilogram, for sale at 18.7 piasters per kilogram, that will achieve savings of 18.9 million pounds.

As regards halvah production, which consumes 325,000 tons of high-class flour, in the event the delivered price per bag rises from 67.7 or 145 pounds and the per-kilogram price to the consumer is simultaneously raised from 7.2 to 15 piasters, subsidy savings of more than 25 million pounds will be realized.

Rice also was the object of study by the ministry, which discovered that in the event the sales price per kilogram of rice reserved for the consumer rises from 5 to 10 piasters that would achieve subsidy savings of 25 million pounds. In the event the price of tourist rice to the consumer is raised from 15 to 18 piasters per kilogram, that will achieve savings of 1.2 million pounds.

Ration Card Quotas

The ration card is a means for bringing supply commodities to the citizen at state subsidized prices. Researchers have been concerned with this and work started on the card system during World War Two in order to facilitate the citizens' acquisition of a minimum of essential commodities; the system of distribution through ration cards by adding supply commodities and removing them evolved until the cards are now restricted to sugar, oil and tea.

In the previous period, the ration card system was flawed by a deficiency in the system of issuing cards, because some people obtained fictitious cards; in 1966 this prompted the Ministry of Supply to issue a decree organizing the issuance of cards in accordance with civil registry data. However, as time went on, the registry offices failed to participate effectively and this led to many negative factors as a result:

The fact that many citizens refrained from giving notice of cases which called for the removal of cards for fear of being punished or paying the cost of the supply commodity differentials they had obtained unrightfully.

Reliance on administrative certificates as a document for issuing new certificates!

The fact that a large number of Egyptians working abroad or emigrating left their cards so that other people could obtain their stipulated quotas. To this end the government gave citizens a grace period to correct the data in their cards before imposing punishments on them or collecting price differentials from them. At the same time, punishment of people committing violations after the grace period was stiffened to imprisonment for a period not to exceed 3 months and a fine of 100 pounds, or one of the two, and collection of the differences in money owed by those committing violations.

The government ceased issuing new cards as of last 1 February except in hardship cases. The issuance of cards continues through the culling of existing cards; migrants' cards are cancelled in all governorates and replaced by permanent ration cards from the governorates where they reside.

Palestinians and Sudanese

The ration cards which were issued to foreigners have been cancelled except in the case of Sudanese, Palestinians and political refugees in residence for a period of not less than 1 year. New rules stipulate that registered persons travelling abroad for a period greater than 6 months must commit themselves to presenting a request that their quotas be suspended.

The Ministry of Supply recommended that procedures concerning ration card supply commodities be simplified in order to alleviate the sufferings of

the consumer public, by consolidating the ration quota. issued with that portion of the commodity which is distributed free at a preferred price, but not imposing any increase on the consumer--on condition that these conditions apply to the persons holding these supply cards:

That they not own part of a private company or funds in excess of 10,000 pounds.

That they not be employed by a company established in accordance with the Arab and Foreign Investment Law. or by an international organization. Persons working for support services will be exempt from that.

That they not be employees on leave, on contract to work abroad or emigrants.

That they not hold more than a superior /grade/ in the government or the public sector.

That they not personally own a furnished dwelling or a transport or rental vehicle, even if it is for personal use.

That they not possess more than 10 feddans.

That they not rent a furnished apartment.

That they not own real property with an annual income exceeding 1,200 pounds.

That they not own companies, import-export offices, or commercial agents' offices.

Increasing the Ration Quotas

The current system for issuing quotas stipulates that 80 grams be given to each person monthly, including 40 grams of supply tea at 5.5 piasters and 40 grams of free tea at 10.5 piasters. The Ministry of Supply recommends that the individual quotas of ration-card tea and free tea be consolidated in a package of one uniform composition weighing 80 grams which will be sold to the consumer for 16 piasters. However, this recommendation will take time as new packages will have to be printed and packaging machines adjusted.

Oil: the current system requires that quantities ranging from 150 to 600 grams be issued to each person monthly at a price of 10 piasters per fluid kilogram. The ministry recommends that the per capita card quota for oil be modified by changing it as follows, to ease matters for consumers:

Persons in coastal towns should be issued 750 instead of 600 grams.

Cairo, al-Jizan, Aswan and the coastal villages, 300 instead of 450 grams.

Governorate administrative districts, 350 grams per person instead of 300 grams.

The rest of the republic, 200 instead of 150 grams.

The Ministry of Supply has recommended that the price of oil to the consumer, public shops and authorities be raised in the following manner:

The price of ration-card oil to the consumer should be raised from 10 to 20 piasters; the recommendation will realize savings of 10.4 million pounds.

Free number one oil to the consumer should be raised from 30 to 45 piasters, bringing about savings of 5.1 million pounds.

Free number one oil to public shops should be raised from 20 to 45 piasters, realizing savings of 5 million pounds.

Number three oil to shops should be raised from 14 to 25 piasters, achieving savings of 1 million pounds. Prices of oils and fats to industrial cooking butter and soap plants will remain as they are.

There is another alternative which the Ministry of Supply has also recommended: this calls for setting the sales price per kilogram of oil to the consumer at 16 piasters, the average between the supply and free oil sales prices.

After this, there remains sugar. In all the governorates of the republic, the current system stipulates that one quarter of a kilogram is to be issued monthly to the individual, except in Aswan, where the per capita quota is 1 kilogram and the ministry offers free granulated sugar at a price of 25 piasters. It is recommended that procedures be simplified to make matters easier for the citizen. The system of issuing sugar should be modified by consolidating the per capita quota of card and free sugar throughout the republic and issuing 1.5 kilograms to each person, while at the same time raising the price to 17.5 piasters per kilogram of free and rationed sugar - provided that the remaining amounts of free sugar be offered on the market without restriction.

There is a new commodity which the Ministry of Supply is thinking of introducing into the supply cards, rather than merely being guided by cards, and this is ordinary cloth.

Pharmaceuticals and Children's Milk

Proceeding from the political commitment to protect persons with limited incomes and guarantee that they are provided with basic commodities and

services, studies have been extended to the subsidizing of basic imported pharmaceuticals and children's milk. Studies have discovered that the rates of consumption of these categories are increasing at a rate much higher than that of the population increase, in view of progress in the field of medical care and the employment of women in various areas, which will result in an increase in the cost of subsidization, especially since the increase in children's milk, insulins and life-saving drugs is equal to their actual import cost--that is, prices have increased several times over and come to five or 10 times the current price, which will have a serious repercussion on sick people.

The Egyptian Pharmaceutical Trading Company has offered the following recommendations:

14.8 million pounds should be allotted as a subsidy to match the difference between import costs and the fixed sales price.

Imported pharmaceuticals and children's milk should be exempted from all customs duties and taxes, whose revenue is estimated at 4.3 million pounds.

The storage duty which is paid to the Ministry of Finance for pharmaceuticals which are imported or produced locally should be allocated to subsidize imported pharmaceuticals and children's milk. Revenues from this duty are estimated at about 10 million pounds.

Sales prices of old types of children's milk, which range from 39 to 40 piasters, should be moved up to 44 or 50 piasters; although this measure will not result in covering the import costs of this milk, it will bring about an increase of about 1.3 million pounds in revenues from milk sales.

Sales prices of insulins, which have been fixed for more than 10 years, should be raised to match the prices of the new types, which are still below import costs. This measure will lead to savings of half a million pounds.

Production costs of pharmaceuticals should be reduced by restudying production lines, eliminating redundant activities and exploiting available resources in the best ways and means. This could require that certain units are merged or eliminated.

Some similar preparations should be eliminated; this will guarantee that some administrative and technical expenditures will be avoided. The specialization system should be adopted in a manner resulting in a reduction in costs of production at various levels.

Finally--the file on subsidies is swelling daily. Studies are being extended to all sides of the issue, since it is not possible to remedy one side /without/ having side effects reflected on the Egyptian economy, now that it has been proved that the sole solution consists of rectifying the

course of the economy without favoring one party at the expense of another. To this end, the prime minister has decided to present the ministry's recommendations to the public before the results are announced.

The Mobilization and Statistics Agency Protests to Supply

The Central Mobilization and Statistics Agency has requested that the per-disc price of bread not be tampered with and also that modifications in the rise in frozen meat and food oil prices be deferred to protect those with limited incomes, while agreeing to Ministry of Supply recommendations on oil allocations issued to public shops, connecting the increase in spaghetti prices to the increase in rice output so that our exports will not be affected. The agency did not agree to the criteria which Supply has proposed for ration-card beneficiaries; it proposes that this be replaced by restrictions on limiting the cards, no matter how many people there may be in the family.

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CSO: 4802

DEVELOPMENT OF SADAT CITY UNDERWAY

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 11 Aug 79 p 9

[Article: "Industrial Area in Sadat City To Be Given To Entrepreneurs in January"]

[Text] It has been decided to grant 400,000 square meters of industrial area land in Sadat city next January to entrepreneurs, and to prepare the first housing area in the city on 225,000 square meters of land next year. Some 3,000 housing units will be constructed with the aim of occupancy, complete with services and amenities, at the beginning of 1981, coinciding with the start of factory operations in the city.

Eng Hasabullah al-Kafrawi, minister of development and new communities, issued instructions to the city's organizations to turn over the industrial area land gratis to entrepreneurs next January, complete with utilities and ready for the start of construction projects, and to turn over lands in the housing area gratis to entrepreneurs who will undertake to construct projects in the city.

Eng Hasan 'Abd al-Mut'al, director of the Sadat city planning office, stated that approximately 50 entrepreneurs have submitted applications during the past 4 days to carry out projects in the city. Among the most prominent were applications to build a factory to assemble Japanese automobiles and a factory to produce reinforced iron.

Eng Hasan 'Abd al-Mut'al said that 6 large industrial projects from among those of the current five-year development plan will be undertaken in Sadat city, an investment amounting to 333 million pounds and affording some 7500 opportunities for employment. They are a factory to produce reinforced iron, with a capacity of 400,000 tons annually, costing 66 million pounds; a factory to produce special steel, with a capacity of 100,000 tons annually, costing 106 million pounds; a factory to produce seamless pipe, with a capacity of 250,000 tons annually, costing 122 million pounds; a factory for metal products, with a 20,000-ton capacity annually, costing 14 million pounds; a group of light industries costing 20 million pounds; and a project to produce industrial gases at a cost of 4 million pounds.

Eng Hasan 'Abd al-Mut'al said that so far the main roads and roads leading to the first industrial area, totaling 15 km, and the administrative group's building have been constructed in the city.

OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES FOR PROJECTS FOR GOVERNORATES PLANNED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 12 Aug 79 p 9

[Article by 'Abd al-Majid al-Shuwadfi]

[Text] Dr 'Abd al-Razzaq 'Abd al-Majid, the minister of planning, announced that it has been decided to form a committee in each governorate, chaired by the secretary-general, to study the economic advantages of each project in light of the needs of the state and the nature of each governorate.

It was also agreed to earmark one-half million pounds as a share in financing projects to reclaim and cultivate 13,000 feddans in the al-Qatarah area, and a credit of 18,500 pounds to complete the mechanized slaughter-house in Zagazig.

He added that the decision has been made to establish a national investment bank to finance housing and food security projects and that it would be opened some time next year.

He also said that the ministry of planning has compiled the necessary reports for projects which the state needs to cut down the size of imports from abroad, and that investment bank branches would be opened in the governorates to finance their projects, including the continuation of their implementation and preparation of sites for the establishment of industrial areas, providing them with utilities, and calling on the private sector to build projects on them.

The minister of planning stated during his meeting yesterday with the governor of the Eastern province, 'Abd al-Karim Hassan, and the heads of the executive organizations there, that a plan would be drawn up for each governorate comprising the financial credits required for carrying out production projects, and that it would be submitted to the people's council for approval.

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CSO: 4802

EGYPT

SWISS, WEST GERMAN BANKS TO FINANCE TOURIST COMPLEX

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 12 Aug 79 p 8

[Article by Mahmud Kamel: "Tourist Complex to Produce Hotels' Commodity Needs; Two Hotels to Open Next October, Increasing Capacity 35 Percent This Year"]

[Text] Dr Mahmud Amin 'Abd al-Hafex, minister of tourism and civil aviation announced that an agreement is now underway with a number of Swiss firms and West German banks to finance and construct a large tourist complex, in the form of a consortium, to produce all the Egyptian hotels' consumer commodity requirements, especially meats, milk products, vegetables and fruits, so that the hotel requirements will not place a burden on the needs of the Egyptian citizen.

The consortium will establish farms especially for itself, beginning with 4 feddans behind the pyramid. The consortium will offer its surplus produce for sale in the market, in a place especially for it. The consortium will also erect special factories to prepare semi-processed meals. During the next few weeks a delegation of experts will arrive in Cairo to submit the necessary studies for the project's implementation.

Regarding hotel capacity, the minister said that it will increase during the remaining months of this year by some 4500 rooms, an increase of 35 percent over the current capacity in Egypt. The Sheraton al-'Arubah Hotel will open with 700 rooms, 400 in October and 300 in December, and the al-Ghurdaqah Sheraton, with 115 rooms, in October, preparatory to a second stage, beginning immediately after opening, to double its capacity with a 60-room per month increase. This is a special type of visitor village for tourists engaged in fishing and underwater activities, and will be repeated on the shores of the Mediterranean and Red Seas. Also two tourist ships, 180 rooms, which will carry out organized trips between Cairo and upper Egypt, will arrive before the end of the year. This is in addition to the large capacity belonging to the private sector which will be opened this year.

The minister said that work will begin to construct a Sheraton and a Marriott hotel, with at least 700 rooms, to be completed within 36 months, including an attempt to strike a balance in hotel capacity between Cairo and Luxor. Additionally, a motel in both al-Minya and Sohag, total of 300 rooms, constructed similarly to the al-'Arish Motel, 150 rooms, will be completed within a year.

He stated that next year would see the opening of one of the largest hotels in the Middle East, the Marriott Omar Khayyam, which will contain 1255 rooms. Operation of its first stage, 750 rooms, will begin in September and the remainder before the end of 1980.

He said that now tourism, in accordance with new planning, would begin to vie with the Suez Canal and oil in terms of attracting hard currency, once the basic plant for tourism is built and the existing hotel shortage alleviated. He stated that undoubtedly the tourist would exchange his purchasing power for high-quality Egyptian products.

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BRIEFS

SADAT CITY PROJECTS--Eng al-'Adel Darbalah, chief of the Sadat city development office, stated that construction of 500 houses will be completed in the city next year, and that the office would also undertake the construction of 1200 more housing units during the same year. Eng Darbalah added that implementation of water, sanitary, and electricity projects to serve the first industrial area and the housing area was currently underway. He said that a primary school, a palace of culture, a commercial market, mosques, a police station, and a telephone and telegraph office to serve the city residents would be constructed. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 12 Aug 79 p 8] 7005

ALEXANDRIA PROJECTS--Agreement has been reached between Dr Muhammad Fu'ad Hilmi, governor of Alexandria, and Eng Husayn 'Uthman, head of the Arab Contractors Company, to have the company carry out three important and vital projects for the city. This was the result of a meeting which the two had yesterday, after which the governor stated that the first of these projects was to transform the recreational airfield into an international airfield, and that the contractors would assume responsibility for the technical and civil engineering functions. The second project is planning the Samuhah area to which only the name 11,000 has been given. The third project is overpasses to solve traffic problems through restricted inter-sections. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 12 Aug 79 p 8] 7005

FACTORIES INAUGURATED IN 10 RAMADHAN CITY--Eng Hasabullah al-Kafrawi, minister of development and new communities will inaugurate 8 factories today in 10 Ramadhan city. They are prefabricated, ready-to-erect factories for concrete, macaroni, paints, and building materials, and they were erected by Egyptian entrepreneurs in the new city on the Cairo-al-Isma'iliyah-al-Sahrawi road. The minister will make a field tour accompanied by senior ministry officials, during which he will inspect both heavy and medium industrial areas and the housing area. The minister will attend religious evening ceremonies to be held by the city's workers in celebration of the factories' inauguration. It has been decided that studies will begin in 10 Ramadhan city schools for the first time this year for all children of workers and officials in the new city. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 12 Aug 79 p 8] 7005

IRAN

REVOLUTIONARY SPLIT FROM WEST WIDENS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Aug 79 p III

[Article by Wolfgang Guenter Lerch: "The Signs of the Islamic Republic"]

[Text] The Islamic revolutionaries in Iran are at war with the press--not only with their own, insofar as it is secular or leftist-radical, but also with the European press. Government spokesman Tabataba'i criticized the German media in particular, accusing them of deliberately spiteful propaganda against Ayatollah Khomeyni and his Islamic republic. He could have laid the same charges against the English-speaking press, for the English papers have been drawing an even gloomier picture of the Iranian revolution. This has already led to consequences: Iran passed a restrictive press law which considerably limits the latitude given to foreign reporters and which also affects the small lay opposition in the country.

These occurrences show up the obstacles to understanding, which exist on either side and which at present appear to be insurmountable. The Iranian revolutionaries cannot understand the criticism expressed by the West in regard to the executions of former representatives of the monarchy. Most Iranians feel that the politicians, police officials and military men that were sentenced to death got their just deserts, since in many cases they had directly or indirectly been involved in tortures and killings in the name of *raison d'etat*. The Iranians reject Western criteria of rule of law, and the debate concerning the moral justifiability of capital punishment is alien to them. They also point out that the West did not protest against the death sentences passed during the reign of the Shah. As regards Western criticism of the moral rigorism of Islam, the Iranians consider it an expression of the materialism of the "decadent" European-American civilization which places the enjoyment of life above all other values.

Conversely, Western observers have difficulty in understanding the phenomenon of the Iranian revolution in all its irrationality. People are still surprised about the fact that the regime of the Shah that had appeared to be so stable collapsed within a few months like a house of cards. It is not difficult to identify political and economic reasons for the collapse of the

Pahlavi dynasty: the suppression of any form of opposition, the investigative methods employed by the SAVAK, the Secret Service, the practical failure of the so-called "white revolution" of the 1960's, and the instances of corruption and unjustified personal gain. However, all these causes are not sufficient to explain why the Iranian revolution was victorious under the standard of Islam; and it is this fact in particular that is perplexing to the West, for people had become accustomed to seeing Marxists in the role of revolutionaries. For this reason, it will probably take a while before the cultural-philosophical and sociological background of the events in Iran is reasonably clear.

Years ago, the German theologian Lanczkowski advanced the thesis that in global terms secularism is not an important factor. This thesis applies in particular to the Islamic world, in which the idea of a separation of religion and politics has never taken root. In Iran--and in many Arab countries--Islam has undergone a renaissance which has affected not only the masses, but also many intellectuals. Since the beginning of the 1960's, there have appeared in Iranian literature anti-Western sentiments which were not merely politically oriented. This criticism became the louder, the more the technological progress estranged the Iranians from their old Moslemic forms of life. Writers such as Jalal Ale-Ahmad or scholars such as Mohammad Eslami pointed out in their works the incompatibility of Western norms with the values of the Iranian people imbued with the spirit of Islam.

They were just as opposed to the attempts of the Pahlavi emperors to use for nationalistic purposes the pre-Islamic history of Iran, the traditions dating from the time of Cyrus the Great who in the 6th century B.C. founded the old Persian Empire. When the father of the Shah, Reza Khan, acceded in 1926 as Reza Shah to the Persian throne, he chose the dynastic name of "Pahlavi." "Pahlavi" is the term used by the Iranians for the Middle Persian language of pre-Islamic times, whereas the present vernacular is called "Farsi." In choosing this name, Reza Shah meant to show himself to be "Iranian"--for the Islamization of Persia in the 7th century was the work of the Arab conquerors--and to set himself off against the preceding Qajar dynasty which was of Turkish origin. His son was pursuing this line further, when he offered the Iranian people the ideology of the "great civilization" which in addition to technological progress was to comprise all of the intellectual traditions of Iran--including the non-Islamic ones. A visible symbol of this was the parade on the occasion of the Iranian Monarchy's bimillennial celebration in Persepolis in 1971. It was only a thin stratum of Iranians--for the most part educated in the West--that followed these visions of the ruler, especially since the social reality--indisputable advances notwithstanding--fell far short of the expectations which the Shah--counting on petrodollars--had raised.

The majority of the over 100,000 religious leaders remained absolutely unimpressed by the Shah's conceptions. His father had opposed their influence from the first days of his reign and had with his own hand physically punished them, when they resisted his reform plans. They never forgave the

Pahlavi dynasty for this. Some of the Mullahs and Ayatollahs combined the resistance against the monarch with the tradition of the struggle for a constitution, which had raged in Iran during the years preceding World War I. From their ranks came Ali Shari'ati who became the true ideologist of the Islamic revolution in Iran. In his Hosseyniye Arshad school in Tehran, he preached the return to the sources of Islam, the "anti-imperialist struggle" and the establishment of an Islamic republic.

To Ali Shari'ati, return to the sources of Islam meant an intensified interest in Shiism, for most Iranians adhere to this creed of Islam. In regard to the problem of legitimate succession to the prophet Mohammed, the Shiites--in contrast to the Sunnite majority of the Moslems--side with Ali Ibn Abi Talib, Mohammed's first cousin. The Sunnites, on the other hand, recognize as legitimate all of the rulers who followed Mohammed in direct succession. According to Shiitic doctrine, the founder of Islam passed on the "Nur Muhammadi," the divine light of the prophets, to his cousin. For this reason, only he and his family--the Imams--were entitled--as direct descendants of Mohammed--to lead the Islamic congregation. The resentment of the Shiites is directed above all against the Omayyad dynasty that ruled until 750. Its founder, Caliph Moaviya, successfully contended with Ali for the throne. In the battle of Kerbela in Iraq, his son and successor killed Hosseyn, one of Ali's sons and grandson of the prophet--a martyr's death which the Shiitic Iranians commemorate every year during Moharram, the month of mourning.

The Sunnites with their sober creed have always regarded the theology of the Imams as fanaticism with a dangerous tendency to deify human beings. In fact, Shiism produced sects such as the "Ahl-e Haq" in whose theology the cousin of the prophet is more prominent than the prophet of Islam himself. Most Iranians believe in 12 Imams, the last of whom is said to have mysteriously disappeared at the end of the 8th century. Since then, he has been living in obscurity, but at the end of time he will establish on earth a realm of peace. The Shiitic theologians, the Mullahs and Ayatollahs, are his deputies and partake of his secretly operative prophetic substance. On account of this sharing, it is they rather than the Sunnite Ulema that merit the appellation of "priests." Shiism is a church--a suffering church at that--that continuously mourns its numerous martyrs. It is only against the background of these basic theological conditions that one can understand how an almost 80-year-old priest such as the Ayatollah Khomeyni was able--from his exile in Neauphle-le-Chateau, thousands of kilometers from Iran--to mobilize millions of Iranians against the Shah. The Iranians refer to Khomeyni as "Imam Khomeyni," an indication of the fact that they regard him as a leader inspired by God.

Messianic Impulses

Ali Shari'ati considered it his duty to revive in the people the messianic impulses of Shiism and to combine them with an idealized vision of life in the original Shiitic congregation. With the picture of a westernized ruler, who had lost contact with his people and who in the bars of St. Moritz was

leading the life of a "kafir" or "infidel," he contrasted the pure soul of an Ali or Hosseyn--a model for the Shiitic man. Fateme, one of the prophet's daughters and Ali's wife, again became a model for the Iranian woman, a model opposed to the "depraved" women of the westernized upper class.

The appeal to the still potent religious archetypes was supplemented by theories concerning communal property, which in Islam have no foundation, but which in Shiism are grounded in a certain tradition. In the Middle Ages, a Shiitic sect, the Karmathians, had raised extremely egalitarian demands ranging as far as the introduction of a "sharing of wives." Likewise, to the Islamic mystics, Islam--the devotion to God--meant a total union with the divine beloved, a union that was not concerned about possessions or money. Islamic mysticism was strongly influenced by the Persians, to whom this mentality--as is shown by their classical literature--appears to be very congenial.

Iranians educated abroad such as the economist Abdol Bani-Sadr continued these traditions in their theories: they combined the idea of a Shiitic state--as propagated by the Mullahs and by Ali Shari'ati--with Marxism and the "Third World ideology." They called for a state which economically and politically would be independent from both East and West, which would again draw closer to the other Islamic countries and which would return to the Iranian people its cultural identity. In fact, the search for cultural identity was one of the strongest driving forces behind the anti-Shah movement, since the progress imported from the West--moving at a tremendous pace--had upset centuries-old forms of life and values without having been able to replace them with something that the Iranians could identify with. Once again it turned out that the attempt to transfer Western development models to non-European societies was doomed to failure.

It was not only Moslemic thinkers, but also European orientalist who in the past defined the difference between the Islamic ideal personality and that of the modern West. Some Moslems hold that progress of the Western kind is attributable to a type of person who regards life and progress as functions of time and who lives a life that is entirely oriented toward the future. Since the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, this "Faustian doer"--inwardly torn and suffering from the conflict between instinct and intellect--has increasingly freed himself from metaphysical ties. According to these critics, this emancipation process, which is regarded by pious Moslems as "rebellion against God," has given rise to the modern civilization which distinguishes itself by supreme achievements in science and technology, but which philosophically is becoming increasingly impoverished. The advocates of an Islamic Renaissance hope that by returning to the traditionalist Islam, which does not differentiate between profane and sacred things, their people will be saved from what they consider the inner conflict of the Europeans. The West justly doubts that this plan will succeed, for so far the Islamic world has not succeeded anywhere in reconciling the principles of theocracy with the requirements of the modern industrialized society which bears the imprint of science and technology.

IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS OF KURD DEMOCRATS CAPTURED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 5 Sep 79 p 11

[Text] The cities of Mahabad and Baneh were conquered by the army units and guards dispatched to those areas and peace and security has returned to Kurdistan to some extent.

This morning Mohammad Narimusa'yi, KEYHAN correspondent dispatched to Kurdistan reported from the city of Baneh: After a severe seven-hour war, the city of Baneh was conquered by the guards and Iran's Islamic Republic Army. Now, the city is completely calm and the armed individuals have fled towards Sardasht.

We were the first group of reporters to arrive to this war stricken city after 10 hours of flight from Sanandaj to Marivan and Baneh. At the entrance of Baneh, the units of Kurdistan 28th Division, Manjil marine rangers, the dispatched guards, the green berets and gendarmerie members were stationed with tanks, guns and other heavy arms.

KEYHAN correspondent reports from the critical area that after the arrival of the army and the guards, the people of Baneh welcomed and praised their arrival.

The report indicates that the severe war between the dispatched units, the guards and the armed Kurds which was the peak of confrontations between the two sides took place at the mountainous pass above the city at a spot called Qarach Daban. During this armed fighting the two sides used mortar launchers, guns and tanks firing at each other. One ranger and three guards were killed. Their names are as follows: Hosseyn 'Azali, Bahman Vojdani, Mehdi Jahanforuz and 1st Lt. Ahmad Mehrabi, marine ranger. The naval officer died after being transferred to the hospital.

There were five persons injured from the army units and guards. There is no information on the number of casualties that the armed Kurdish individuals suffered. It is said that their casualties were several times higher than those of the army and the guard units.

KEYHAN correspondent reports his observations from the war stricken city of Baneh:

The people of Baneh mostly express their delight that the armed Democrats have fled and that the army and guards have arrived in their city. They say they want peace and security and that they have not cooperated with the war seekers.

Ahmad Sarhadi one of the leaders of Baneh tribes said:

First, we need immediate peace in this area. Secondly, we need rebuilding and welfare and development actions especially providing and expanding water supply programs, agriculture, animal husbandry and construction of suitable roads. Up to now, a group of unsuitable persons had made us their captive in this area and they had jeopardized our security. He added: Now, under the banner of Islam and the flag of the Islamic Republic we have found a secure shelter. Of course, we ask the government to study the needs of our region seriously.

We do not want self autonomy and we are against the plot that was going to separate Kurdistan from Iran.

He also rejected the issue of Sunnites and Shiites and said that all of the people of Baneh hoped that the deceived Kurdish people would be pardoned by the Imam.

KEYHAN correspondent who had mostly talked with the people added the following to his report:

In general the people of Baneh believe that they were involved in an imposed war on both sides and that their representatives have said that they had multi-directional cooperations with Jalal Talebani. He said that he has no information on Mosseyni and Qasemlu. Regarding Seyyed Jalal Hosseyni, he said: Two hours before the army arrived in the city, he fled from Baneh by means of a Land Rover.

In their contact with KEYHAN reporter, the people of Baneh said: Prior to the arrival of the army and guards, the Democrats had told the people by loudspeakers that if they do not leave the city the Phantoms and helicopters would bombard them and kill their wives and children. Following this rumour about two thirds of the people left the city of Baneh. After the army was stationed and the people began to trust the army, they returned to their houses.

Lt Naqshbandi, member of the advance group of the army in Baneh said: The armed attackers opened fire and killed two guards who had brought food from Marivan to Baneh. The peak of our involvement with the attackers was at Qarach Daban pass which after Khan pass was the most dangerous spot for

fighting. He added: In fighting with this group one of their tanks and two of their vehicles (belonging to Kurd's) were destroyed by Kobra helicopters. Their other heavy equipment were destroyed by the advanced ground units and 13 were arrested. If sufficient attention had been paid when we warned the former governor-general of Kurdistan 3 months ago requesting that the army enter this area, now without even using one bullet Baneh would have been conquered by the army and this bloody fighting would not have taken place.

According to Ab'ollah Zadeh, a truck owner in Baneh, the city of Baneh had recently been the main base of the Democrats and that Azaeldin Hosseyni, Qasemlu, and Seyyed Jalal Hosseyni had a strong headquarters at that location. They regularly went to the other side of the border and persuaded everyone to get armed. This group with nine others were released and the other four were transferred to Sanandaj prison.

The other military units of army and rangers dispatched to Baneh also said: In general we expected heavy fighting to take place. However with the surprise attack of the army and the guards, the armed attackers retreated and fled towards the mountains.

One of the Manjil marine rangers said: Among the armed individuals there were those who spoke Arabic which indicates that they are helped from the other side of the border.

In the continuation of his report, KEYHAN correspondent adds: At 4 p.m., Tuesday afternoon a large ammunitions storage belonging to the armed Democrats was confiscated at the distance of 10 kilometers from Baneh at an area called Rostami base. The ammunition included grenade launchers, mortar launchers, wireless, heavy arms, etc... Military experts stationed in Baneh believe that the confiscated ammunitions could have supplied a two-day war between the armed individuals and the army.

They also said that before fleeing to the other side of the border and Sardasht, the armed Democrats hid their heavy arms in the mountains.

The reconnaissance and discovery group of army is making an air search over all villages and is discovering and confiscating ammunition storages belonging to the Democrats.

KEYHAN correspondent adds:

Yesterday, in presence of Dr. Chamran, deputy minister of state in revolutionary affairs, the police department of Baneh started to work after months of being closed. The personnel of the police department arrived in the police stations to run the security affairs of the city.

KEYHAN reporter adds: Now that peace has returned to the city, the people and those who had moved to the surrounding villages return to the city carrying a white flag. They are returned to their homes by the army personnel and the guards.

All sensitive areas and high spots of the city of Baneh are under the control of the army units, the guards and the rangers. Until yesterday, the stores were closed in Baneh. However, the city is gradually returning to normal.

According to what one hears in Baneh, following the takeover of the cities of Mahabad and Baneh, the armed Kurds from now on will not regularly get involved with the army units and the guards. However, reports obtained from the headquarters of armed Democrats, prior to the arrival of the army, as well as the files that existed in their headquarters indicate that in the future armed Kurds will stage guerrilla attacks throughout Kurdistan.

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CSO: 4906

KHOMAYNI'S MESSAGE IN SUPPORT OF DISCIPLINARY FORCES

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 23 Aug 79 p 12

[Text] Last night Imam Khomeyni delivered an important address to the nation, in which he expressed his support for the nation's disciplinary forces. He said that no opposition to the disciplinary forces will be permitted. He also went on to say that one day's oil revenues has been earmarked for use in Kurdistan. Following is the text of the address:

"In the name of God the Avenger:

"As leader of the revolution and supreme commander of the armed forces, I issue this warning:

"1. I express my support for the disciplinary forces (the army, gendarmerie, police and revolutionary guards), and I will permit no opposition to them. Violators will be dealt with by the revolutionary courts.

"2. Members of the armed forces must observe the chain of command. Violators will be singled out and, in the case of conspiracy, I will have them tried in field-tribunals.

"3. Strikes by members of the disciplinary forces are strictly forbidden. Violators and instigators will be punished by the revolutionary courts. I will also order the formation of field-tribunals in cases of conspiracy.

"4. I strictly command the disciplinary forces, especially the army and revolutionary guards, to cooperate in suppressing opposition and pacifying regions such as Kurdistan and Khuzestan. Violators will be dealt with by revolutionary justice.

"5. I say to the members of the Kurdish Democratic Party and zealous, upright Kurds who have been deluded by their traitorous leaders, that if you reject treason and ally yourself with Islam and the nation, turn in your weapons and present yourselves to the local military authorities, you will be pardoned. You will be greatly rewarded if you hand over your leaders to justice, but if you continue to resist, you will be severely punished.

"6. To the honorable people of Kurdistan, I say that you should consider us your brothers and equals, enjoying equal rights with all the other people of Iran. In the Islamic Republic, there is no difference among Turks, Kurds, Lurs, Arabs, Fars, and Baluchis.

"7. I have ordered the director of the National Oil Company to set aside one day's oil revenues for use in Kurdistan. The government is to use this money as soon as possible, within one week, for the benefit of our dear Kurdish brothers who have suffered from the attacks of rebellious elements. Steps will also be taken to aid the other provinces.

"8. I must thank the steadfast and honorable people of Iran who have made known their courageous readiness to suppress rebellion and defend our country's frontiers, and support the disciplinary forces. It is the religious and patriotic duty of every one of us to support the disciplinary forces.

"31 Mordad 1358 [22 Aug 1979] Ruhollah al-Musavi al-Khomeyni."

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IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY ADVOCATES OPPOSITION TO CAMP DAVID CONSPIRACY

Beirut AL-NIDA' in Arabic 17 Aug 79 p 7

[Article: "The Iraqi Communist Party Calls for National and Pan-Arab Fronts to Confront Camp David Conspiracy; Struggle of Palestinian Resistance, of Lebanese National Movement, of Egyptian National Movement To Be Supported; Freedoms Are To Be Granted; Struggle for an Arab Unity Based on Opposition to Imperialism To Be Unleashed"]

[Test] The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party has issued a statement on the Arab and international situation and on the World Communist Movement. The statement which was dated the latter part of July pointed out that the meeting was held in Baghdad. The most significant parts of the statement follow.

"The Arab area is experiencing events and rapid developments that involve the most serious threats to the future of the pan-Arab struggle for liberation. This is due to two principal reasons:

"First, the continued Zionist occupation of Arab lands, the escalation of Israeli aggressive activities and the increase in imperialist pressures and threats have indicated that the so-called 'Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty' was not the final chapter in the Zionist-imperialist plan of attack, but that it was rather a perilous beginning for carrying out this plan which in essence is a comprehensive political, security, military and economic alliance with far-reaching consequences and goals.

"Second, the level of Arab confrontation of the dangers that evolved from this aggressive alliance have not measured up to a unified, effective plan that is commensurate with the enormity of these dangers. Although the Baghdad Summit resolutions have been able to restrain the Egyptian regime which had gambled when it signed the separate peace treaty with the Zionist enemy, they did not affect U.S. imperialist interests which constitute the heart of this plan. Arab efforts have not been coordinated, and effective measures have not been taken to confront the increasingly dangerous Israeli aggression. The Arab masses have continued to stay away from this activity and have not played a principal role because they continue to be deprived of their democratic rights and freedoms.

"Events have occurred in rapid succession following the treacherous deal that al-Sadat concluded with Begin with the active participation of U.S. imperialism. These events affirm the aggressive nature and objectives of this alliance. The matter was not confined to getting Egypt out of the battlefield against Israeli aggression and imperialism--and this was an effective blow to the unity and efficacy of the struggle for liberation; but it went beyond that to the surrender of the Egyptian regime to Israel and U.S. imperialism. In addition to its participation in this alliance the Egyptian regime assumed special roles in fighting liberation movements in Africa and in the Arab homeland in general. This is evident in the hostile positions this regime has assumed towards Libya, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Syria and the PLO. [It is also evident in] its offer of support to the reactionary regimes in Amman, Sudan, Zaire and other countries."

The Peace Process: Mask for Treason

"The evolution of events has proven that the so-called 'peace process' and the negotiations on 'autonomy for the Palestinians' are no more than a mask for national treason and a deceptive front for a capitulatory policy and for the liquidation of the Palestinian question. The humiliating treaty which al-Sadat concluded with Tel Aviv with the collaboration of Washington did not bring peace to the area. The treaty does not come to terms with a just and a comprehensive settlement or with the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people who have firmly rejected it. Quite the contrary, this conniving deal did introduce a new factor that has aggravated the situation in the area. It has increased the hostility and viciousness of the Israeli aggressors; [it has broadened] their expansionist ambitions; and it has heightened their obdurate refusal to withdraw from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and Jerusalem. The treaty has also provided U.S. imperialism with new capabilities for implementing its aggressive plans.

"It has become known to everyone that this treaty comprises plans for establishing U.S. military, air force and naval bases in Haifa, the Nagev and Sinai. "It has also become known that" the flow of U.S. weapons to Israel has increased. This is in addition to the huge supplies (for 3 billion dollars) that have been set aside to strengthen Israel's offensive capabilities. For that, military supplies of limited effectiveness that are appropriate to its new role have been set aside for Egypt. In addition, other supplies have been earmarked for Amman and Sudan which have taken positions supporting those of al-Sadat."

U.S. Pressure

"It seems evident today--from the escalation of Israeli aggressive activities against Lebanon, the Palestinian Resistance and Syria; from the steadily increasing military presence in the Arabian Sea; from the frequency of U.S. threats that were made by Carter after the treaty was signed to occupy the oil wells and to cause unrest and disturbances in the area--that the other chapters of this aggressive plan are in the process of being implemented.

The escalation of Israeli attacks against Lebanon is tied to the impudent threats that are made by Tel Aviv to get the Syrian troops and the Palestinian Resistance out of Lebanon. Similarly, the invitations that have been extended to the governments of Lebanon and Jordan to conclude separate peace treaties [with Israel] similar to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty are no more than a reinforcement of the policy of military aggression and terror and an excuse for committing new aggressive acts which conceal obvious expansionist ambitions. Such pressure at this stage implies that one part of the plan is being implemented after the other by means of isolating each one of the confrontation countries and forces.

"Israeli military circles are not hiding their intentions to attack Syria, which is being subjected to severe pressures and threats, nor are they concealing their intentions to continue their pressure on Jordan and to annihilate the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese National Movement. To complete the episodes of this conspiracy Washington is not hesitating to announce its plans to control the Arab oil wells and to impose U.S. suzerainty over the area of the Arabian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula. This oil rich area has been a principal target for the strategy of the United States and of the oil monopolies. Efforts have continued, with the cooperation of Arab reactionaries especially in the area of the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea, to establish regimes for regional security that would protect the flow of oil supplies to capitalist countries and suppress liberation movements in this area. Imperialist circles are also continuing their efforts to develop this aggressive strategy and to prepare the tools for its implementation, such as forming air-borne strike forces and developing blitzkrieg tactics. Among the goals of this strategy is that of implementing a plan for direct military intervention in the area that is called Qaws al-Azamat [the Arch of Crises]. [Another goal involves] a conspiracy against the Iranian and Afghani revolutions because of the severe upheaval that was brought about by these two revolutions to the strategic foundations of the Pentagon and because of the change in the balances of power in favor of the struggle against imperialism in this area."

On the Verge of a Broad Confrontation

"The escalation of Israeli military activities and U.S. threats and the boost given to the Egyptian regime's position and to the suspect roles of Arab reactionaries and rightist forces are closely associated in a manner that poses the most serious threats to the Arab National Liberation Movement. Naturally, the increasing Israeli penchant for expansion; the greed of oil monopolies; the increasing voracity of capitalist countries--and especially after the recent OPEC Conference in Vienna--and the Arab peoples' insistence on defending their sovereignty, their wealth and their national interests foretell the occurrence of serious confrontations and clashes that may lead to the outbreak of a new war in the area."

Requirements for Successful Opposition

"The process of confronting these dangers requires that an effective Arab plan be drawn up and serious coordinated activities [be planned]. The courses of action that were approved at the Steadfastness and Opposition Summit Conference and at the Arab People's Conference, which were held in Damascus after the signing of the Camp David Accords, could have produced a unified action program with clear lines, goals and functions. They could have constituted a center around which an effective Arab gathering could have been formed on an official and a popular level in a manner that would have guaranteed the necessary capabilities for mobilizing Arab military, political and economic capabilities. But the fact that there was a turning away from this course did disrupt the correct course of action for achieving the aforementioned requirements and goals. Accordingly, this has undermined the requirements for a successful opposition to the dangers that the Arab world is presently experiencing.

"Instead of dealing with the battle in a manner that would ensure successful opposition to it--from defining its international requirements to under-scoring the utmost and urgent necessity for an alliance with the Soviet Union against imperialism and Zionism--this vital principle has been ignored. Efforts and schemes designed to minimize the role of the Soviet Union and to remove it from the Arabs' struggle for liberation have continued.

"Reactionary regimes found themselves compelled to yield to the pressure of trends that opposed the Camp David Accords, and they accepted roles that were incompatible with their natures, their interests and their special ties with U.S. imperialism. This entire situation has led to the creation of the serious possibilities that certain Arab parties may join the game of separate settlements under pressure from the military terror of Israel or through the open channels of U.S. and West European diplomacy."

National Fronts

"A long time ago Arab peoples came to a sound and a highly significant conclusion: a regime that restricts the freedom of an individual and paralyzes the will of the masses cannot achieve victory in peace or in war; it does not have the capability to be steadfast or to confront [its enemies]. The popular masses were right when they affirmed that the defeats which had been attributed to the Arab struggle were defeats that had befallen regimes and not defeats that had befallen the Arab peoples and armies. Revolutionary forces in the Arab countries also have almost reached a consensus that the establishment of national fronts on the national and pan-Arab scenes and the achievement of political democracy for the masses and for their revolutionary forces constituted the road to a sound national unity, to pan-Arab solidarity in the struggle and to a true and effective national struggle.

"The Arab National Liberation Movement is rich with possibilities and revolutionary energies. Recent events have proven the vitality of this movement and have demonstrated the abilities it has to overcome the difficulties it is facing in spite of the heavy reactionary, Zionist, imperialist attack it is undergoing and in spite of the numerous forms of conspiracy [to which it is subjected]. Although this attack has had temporary relative victories, the Arab National Liberation Movement did achieve significant victories that will have a major impact on its future and on its subsequent development."

Democratic Yemen Is a Model

"The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen has become a model and an inspiring example for the struggle of the Arab masses. [It has done that] through its ideological positions and its liberation policy; through the unity that was achieved by the revolutionary forces; through its success in establishing the Yemeni Socialist Party on the basis of scientific socialism; through scuttling the conspiracy of the opportunist leftist movement; through its active participation in the pan-Arab liberation struggle and through its forward progress on the road of socialist changes."

The Steadfastness of the Palestinian People

"The Palestinian Arab people continue to remain steadfast in the face of Israeli aggression. They are reinforcing their struggle in different ways. The Palestinian Resistance and the brave masses in the West Bank, on the Gaza Strip, on the National Front and in the Jordanian Communist Party are participating in this struggle to foil the extermination campaign and the autonomy plans whose objective is to liquidate the question of the Arab people of Palestine."

The Lebanese National Movement

"The National Movement in Lebanon--and that includes the Lebanese Communist Party--is also continuing the brave struggle, along with the Palestinian Resistance, for a united, Arab, democratic Lebanon so as to prevent the fragmentation of Lebanese territory and the transformation of the southern portion of the country into a hotbed for separatist gangs and a booty for Zionist conquerors."

The Struggle of the Egyptian Masses

"The struggle of the Egyptian masses has exposed al-Sadat's regime and has thwarted his efforts to deceive the people in the name of democracy. This client regime has deliberately dissolved parliament and has more than once openly forged the elections to keep the representatives of the popular masses, and especially the representatives of the National Progressive Grouping Party, away from that platform. The struggle of the Egyptian Communist Party, the struggle of the Egyptian working class and the struggle of all the progressive forces in the country are becoming stronger."

The Isolation of Numayri

"Numayri's dictatorial regime in Sudan is becoming more isolated from the masses, and it is becoming weaker. Meanwhile, the struggle of the Sudanese masses--and the Sudanese Communist Party and the working class are in the lead--is escalating."

An Awakening in Western Arabia

"The role of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah is growing in the countries of Western Arabia in the struggle against imperialism and [in the effort] to foil the conspiracies and the aggressive threats of al-Sadat against it. The struggle of the masses in Tunisia against political oppression, for democratic freedoms and for the release of political prisoners is growing. National and progressive forces in Algeria have foiled attempts by rightist and reactionary forces to turn the country away from a progressive, national course after the death of President Boumedienne. They stood firmly against the threats of Moroccan reactionaries whose objective was to make Algeria preoccupied with border disputes and clashes so as to weaken its role in the Arab struggle and prevent it from continuing its support to the people of the Sahara and to their right to determine their destiny and establish their democratic republic under the leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of El Saguia El Hamra and Rio di Oro (the Polisario).

"The unity of the popular movement in the Arab countries is strengthened in the course of opposing the Zionist-imperialist attack. The creation of the Arab People's Congress and the formation of its general secretariat as well as the conferences and meetings it held and the resolutions it adopted were significant steps on the road to this unity.

"The meeting of the representatives of the communist and labor parties in the Arab countries in December 1978 continued the tradition that our fraternal parties have maintained: opinions were exchanged, and positions that unify our movement vis a vis questions of our country, our Arab homeland and our nation were determined. This matter has contributed and does contribute to the unification of the positions of the national and progressive forces within the overall Arab National Liberation Movement."

The Functions

"Although the standard of the Arab confrontation has not yet risen to the level that would suffice to make it ward off the dangers that are lying in wait for the Arab homeland, these positive developments in the Arab National Liberation Movement call attention to the massive energies that it has to enable it to stand fast in the face of aggression and oppose the major threats that grow out of the reactionary imperialist Zionist alliance and the capitulatory policies. The Arab National Liberation Movement will succeed in this opposition if it joins a broad Arab national front and secures the requirements of a successful struggle. These are:

"First, the people are to be made effective partners in the political life of the country and in the decision making process by repudiating autocratic modes of government and establishing broad national fronts to which all parties and national forces contribute on the basis of a program of struggle that is based on an unflinching struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reactionaries.

"Second, the will of the masses is to be liberated by abolishing all restrictions, conditions and organizations that suspend freedoms. The freedoms and democratic rights--political, union and professional--of the popular masses and of their parties and democratic national organizations are to be granted.

"Third, the Steadfastness and Opposition Front is to be strengthened by making the governments, the parties and the forces that are qualified for serious struggle partners [in that struggle] on the basis of a unified and effective plan whose features and objectives are clear. Such a plan would confront the aggressive activities of Israel and of U.S. imperialism and would ward off the increasingly dangerous attack which the Arab national is currently facing.

"Fourth, the struggle to achieve Arab unity is to be based on the will of the people and is to be established on the basis of opposition to imperialism, Zionism and reactionaries. Democracy is to be publicized in Arab countries; the energies of the people are to be released; and the effectiveness of the Arab armies and their leaders is to be strengthened.

"Fifth, the Arab people of Palestine, especially on the occupied land, are to be supported. The Arab people of Palestine are waging a heroic and a difficult battle against the Israeli occupation, against the settlement projects and against the autonomy conspiracy in order to liberate their land--including Jerusalem--[by forcing] the evacuation of the Israeli forces from the land and establishing their own independent national state on this land under the leadership of the PLO, their legitimate and only representative. They are forcing Israel to evacuate Syrian territory and Sinai.

"Sixth, the Palestinian Resistance Movement and the National Lebaneses Movement are to be supported in their struggle against Israeli attacks and against the rightist forces that are cooperating with Israel. Their objective is to harm the unity, independence and the Arab character of Lebanon and the right of the Palestinian Resistance to be present on Lebanese land.

"Seventh, Syrian is to be supported in the positions it takes against aggressive Israeli pressures and threats. There is to be an effective solidarity with the fraternal people of Syria, with their national forces and with the Syrian Communist Party.

"Eighth, all forms of assistance and solidarity are to be offered to the Egyptian nationalist forces that oppose the course of al-Sadat.

"Ninth, solidarity with the liberation movements in the area of the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula is to be strengthened; there is to be a struggle to liquidate the military bases in Dhahran, Masirah and al-Jalir and to remove U.S. military presence in the area.

"Tenth, the alliance with the Soviet Union and with the other countries of the World Socialist Organization is to be strengthened, and the thrust of the struggle is to be directed against U.S. imperialism and against its aggressive conspiracies and interests in the Arab homeland.

"Achieving these requirements would mobilize the masses and would place the Arab National Liberation Movement on a road that would guarantee it the capability to confront the aggression and achieve victory."

Regarding the International Situation

"The international situation has continued on a course of positive development during the past year and a half. The socialist countries of the Economic Mutual Assistance Council--with the Soviet Union at their forefront--have scored successes in developing their national economies, in raising the workers' standard of living, and in offering financial aid to the developing countries. The minutes of the session of the Economic Mutual Assistance Council, which was held in June 1979 and coincided with the 30th anniversary of establishing the council, provide clear evidence of the magnitude of these successes and the bright horizons that await the world socialist economy in the light of the long range coordination and planning [that has taken place] and the mutual assistance [which exists among] the countries of the socialist organization.

"By contrast, the crisis in the capitalist countries is getting worse, and especially in the area of energy. Inflation is growing; prices are rising; unemployment is becoming widespread; and the modes of growth are declining. Attempts made by the imperialist countries to get out of the crisis have failed. This failure became clear during the Tokyo Summit Conference in 1979.

"The struggles of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries and the strike actions they take there bear witness to the growing incompatibilities between labor and capital. These contribute to [the process of] undermining imperialism and shaking the regimes that are backed by major capitalist monopolies and multi-national corporations.

"The policy pursued by the Soviet Union and by the other socialist countries in protecting international peace and supporting the struggle of people for liberation, democracy and socialism has scored important victories. It has thus gained more sympathy and support from the masses all over the world. Among the important accomplishments of this policy was the signing of the SALT II Agreement. This was a new and an important step towards the achievement of international detente. All the peace-loving peoples and forces in

the world welcomed and supported this agreement, whereas ultra-reactionaries in Washington and in all imperialist countries were conspiring against it. They are aware of the fact that strengthening international detente would create a situation that would be more favorable to the struggle of peoples against imperialism, racism and aggression.

"Extremely significant victories for the world revolutionary forces have been seen during the past period on the scene of the National Liberation Movement and in the struggle against imperialism. The democratic revolution in Afghanistan was victorious; the Shah's regime in Iran fell; the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia also fell; and the Ethiopian Revolution has been able to stand fast.

"After the defeat of the retrograde attempt Democratic Yemen experienced an incident that is of considerable significance to the entire Arab world. This was the birth of the Vanguard Party which is modeled after scientific socialism. This party is offering a new model for the unity of all the revolutionary forces, and it is opening the road for countries to proceed towards socialism.

The World Communist Movement

"The World Communist Movement has assumed and is assuming a basic role in the struggle on the contemporary international scene because it is the leading force in the human struggle to re-shape the world and re-build a new human civilization. The victories of the World Communist Movement are embodied in the victories of the countries of the socialist organization. They are embodied in the reinforcement of the youthful socialist regimes in Indo-China and Cuba and in the radical change that Democratic Yemen has experienced. In addition, the struggles of workers and of their communist and labor parties in the advanced capitalist countries against imperialism and its monopolistic corporations have been successful. The National Liberation Movements have also achieved repeated victories.

The Marxist-Leninist theory has been enriched and is being enriched in the course of the struggle. Life itself is forever offering new forms of struggle and new duties that are facing the movement.

"The theoretical debate that was held by the communist and labor parties in Sofia in December 1978 on "Building Socialism and Communism and World Development" was an expression of this enrichment.

"In the midst of the struggle for reinforcing the unity and solidarity of the ranks of the World Communist Movement, the Maoist faction showed its true colors and emerged as a subversive faction opposed to communism and to the World Revolutionary Movement. It is a faction that is in agreement with the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. This was demonstrated by the shameful aggression on socialist Vietnam; it was an attack that ended in complete failure thanks to the steadfastness of the brave people of Vietnam and the support of the revolutionary forces of the world, and at their forefront are the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

"The Iraqi Communist Party which is faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism is persevering in its struggle for the purpose of establishing the solidarity of the ranks of the World Communist Movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is trying by all possible means to serve this noble goal."

Baghdad

Late July 1979

The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party

8592

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HOW SADDAM HUSAYN HANDLED THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 3 Aug 79 pp 22-23

[Article by "Sulayman": "My Boy, Assume the Responsibility Alone, and Let Me Take It Easy!"]

[Text] When al-Bakr learned about the conspiracy, he said to Saddam Husayn: "My boy, assume the responsibility alone, and let me take it easy!"

Are Syrian-Iraqi relations getting worse because of the conspiracy, or are they gaining a new impetus from it? Everything was quiet in Baghdad as it was getting ready to celebrate the holidays in honor of the two July revolutions, which is the usual thing every year at this time. And it did not occur to anyone that President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr would resign as president of the republic for reasons of health, especially since those who saw last year's celebrations saw President al-Bakr stand on his feet for 7 straight hours, until the end of the military parade. Next to him stood his vice-president, the current president, Saddam Husayn, and both of them were in military uniforms.

Al-Bakr's resignation on the eve of the July celebrations did not disturb these celebrations, and they lasted from the evening of the 16th of last month until dawn of the next day. This caused an Arab diplomat to make the comment: "Are they rejoicing because Saddam has come, or are they rejoicing because al-Bakr is gone?" It was as if he wanted to suggest that what happened in the Palace of the Republic the previous evening was not as normal a thing as it appeared to be on the surface.

The thing that increased the likelihood that something had happened high up in the government and had led to President al-Bakr's resigning from his post in favor of his vice-president, Saddam Husayn, was the removal of Muhyi 'Abd al-Husayn al-Mashhadi from his post as secretary of the Revolution Command Council 2 days before the resignation of al-Bakr.

This event, which was announced before al-Bakr's resignation, unleashed a wave of rumors, especially outside the country, and all of them were based on the fact that the name of the dismissed secretary of the Revolution

Command Council suggests that he is a Shiite. At the time, these rumors were closer to the truth in view of the tense relations between Baghdad and Teheran and in view of the campaign Iran has organized against Iraq on the pretext that the Iraqi authorities are persecuting the Shiites. A religious official in Iran, in his latest statement, has even said that 300 Iraqi Shiites have been killed and that more than 6,000 of them have been imprisoned!

But the truth was a completely different story. Little by little it began to be brought to light that there existed a large-scale conspiracy, just as large in its scope and dimensions as the former Nazim Kazzar conspiracy, which occurred in 1973 during the return of President al-Bakr from an official visit to Bulgaria and which had, as a victim, the minister of defense at that time, Hamad Shihab. The first clue of the new conspiracy was revealed when it became known that the secretary of the Revolution Command Council, who had been dismissed from his post, had been arrested and subjected to investigation. It is said that when President al-Bakr found out the names of the conspirators and the details of the conspiracy's plan, he was astonished and dismayed, and then informed Saddam Husayn that he would prefer that he, that is, Saddam, take on the responsibility of dealing with the situation in which his comrades were joining in in the conspiracy. Al-Bakr was quoted as saying that he felt that the time had come for Saddam to be transferred from the vice-presidency to the presidency, since he enjoyed the legitimate approval of the party and of the Arabs, and since his [al-Bakr's] age and health condition did not allow him to face another situation like that which he faced in 1973. He also reminded people that in early April he had gone to Mecca to perform the 'umrah pilgrimage rites since he wanted to end his life in a state of peace of mind! Actually it was noticeable to people that al-Bakr was traveling to Mecca at the time that the Iraqi Baithists were celebrating the 32d anniversary of the founding of the Baith Party. This is an occasion which al-Bakr has never missed even once during the past 10 years.

The revelation of the conspiracy by means of its primary link, Muhyi 'Abd al-Husayn, confirms that al-Bakr's resignation was not the cause of what happened, but rather a result of it. This means that al-Bakr himself, along with Saddam Husayn, was the target, just as what had happened in 1973 when Nazim Kazzar, chief of the Security Services, attempted to grab both men together at the Baghdad Airport after he had succeeded in seizing both Minister of Defense Hamad Shihab, who was killed during the operation, and Minister of the Interior Sa'dun Ghaydan, who was wounded as he was trying to escape & flee from those who had arrested him.

Official and semi-official information that has leaked out during the time period extending from 20 July, the day of the arrest of the five leaders who were members of the Revolution Command Council and the Regional Command of the Baith Party, to Saturday, 27 July, when the news was officially announced in Baghdad, indicates that this latest attempt was connected with the attempt that preceded it in 1973, and that the connecting link between

the two events was the former party leader 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Samarra'i, who had made an agreement with Nazim Kazzar. Although most of those who joined in in the 1973 attempt were sentenced to be executed, 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Samarra'i's sentence was changed to that of life imprisonment and then to house arrest after strong pressure that was brought to bear by some of the non-Iraqi Baithists who had close ties to him. It is said that Michel 'Aflaq, the secretary general of the party, personally intervened for this purpose.

But the new feature about this latest attempt is the accusation that a "foreign party" supported the conspirators and provided them with funds. And while the Iraqi Baithists are openly declaring that this foreign party was Syria, the official joint announcement made by the Revolution Command Council and the Regional Command said only that pan-Arab national interests do not permit the mentioning of the name of the party referred to. Information being passed around says that the conspirators' connection with Syria goes back to the year 1975, and that this connection was made through Muhammad 'Ayish, the president of the National Federation of Labor Unions and the former minister of industry. And it is said that the Syrians promised Muhammad 'Ayish that they would support any movement against the existing regime in Baghdad, even if it required the sending of paratrooper units from the Syrian Air Force in order to reinforce the position of the Iraqi military units which were to be led into the planned coup by Major General Walid Sirat who, in the early 70's, was the military attache in the Iraqi Embassy in Beirut. Iraqi sources consider it probable that the officer Walid Sirat has had foreign connections since that time.

The ambiguous way in which the official announcement dealt with the foreign party led some people to direct their accusations toward the Soviet Union in view of the deterioration in Soviet-Iraqi relations and in view of the Iraqi Baithist attack on the communists, which resulted in the execution of a large number of military people who were accused of having formed communist cells in the army—a type of activity which is forbidden to all parties except the Baith Party and the punishment for which, according to the law, is execution. The first such reference to the Soviet Union was made in Cairo's AL-AHRAM, which was the first newspaper to publish the news of the conspiracy. Most probably the Iraqi leaders made their official announcement on the day following AL-AHRAM's publication of the news, that is, last Saturday, because they felt that the news had already spread around outside the country and that keeping silent about it for too long would tend to allow more rumors to get started. AL-AHRAM had published the news on its front page under the headline: "Communist-Baithist Conspiracy in Iraq!"

It is known that there are Baithists in Iraq, especially in the government information agencies, who were not pleased about the attack on the communists and made efforts to put a stop to it. It seems that it is not a coincidence that a number of information agency officials—including the director general of the IRAQI NEWS AGENCY, Muhammad Munaf al-Yasin, who was the press attache in Beirut from 1973 to 1976, and his predecessor in the agency, Taha al-Basri—are under arrest on charges of participating in the

conspiracy. The head of the Emergency Court which was set up in order to try the accused ones is Na'im Haddad, head of the "Progressive Arab National Front," who led the attack against the communists.

Muhammad Munaf al-Yasin wrote a weekly column, for which he was paid, in the magazine AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI, published by Walid Abu Zahr in Paris, and was not known for his communist tendencies!

Among the evidence and suspicions concerning this matter is that which is related by 'Ali Ballut, owner of the magazine AL-DUSTUR, who said that the previous information agency officials harassed him to the point of forcing him to close down the magazine and put it up for sale, because, in his attacks on the communists, he was receiving his instructions from another party. 'Ali Ballut says that the harassment against him reached its peak when he published, as a feature story, an interview with Na'im Haddad about the Iraqi Communist Party and the National Front, and this happened about 2 months before the closing down of the magazine!

How did Saddam Husayn deal with the conspirators and how is it that they did not suspect that they would be exposed after the dismissal of al-Mashhadi? And what happened during the 14 days between the time of the dismissal of al-Mashhadi and the bringing of the accused to trial and the day that the official announcement was made?

On 14 July President al-Bakr decided to resign from his post after he learned the details of the story told by the former secretary of the Revolution Command Council, but the president's resignation was not announced until 2 days later. The next day al-Bakr sent the head of the conspirators, 'Adnan Husayn al-Hamdani--the member of the Revolution Command Council who was in charge of petroleum affairs and planning--to Damascus to inform President Hafiz al-Asad of his decision to resign, and this helped to remove any suspicion. After Saddam Husayn assumed the duties of his post as president of the republic, he proceeded to appoint the accused Command Council members, with the exception of Muhammad 'Ayish, to high ministry and command posts. 'Adnan al-Hamdani was appointed first deputy prime minister and chief of the Office of the Presidency of the Republic, which is the position closest to that of president of the republic. Muhammad Mahjub was appointed minister of education, and Ghanim 'Abd al-Jalil was appointed deputy prime minister, his previous post having been that of minister of higher education. These last two individuals are among the original Baithists of Iraq.

A startling surprise happened in the first meeting of the new government and the members of the Revolution Command Council, chaired by Saddam Husayn, in his capacity as president of the republic. When the meeting had reached its quorum, President Saddam Husayn called upon the former secretary of the Revolution Command Council to relate the confessions, which he then read off in the presence of everyone. Whenever Muhyi 'Abd al-Husayn came to the name of one of those present, Saddam Husayn would ask him if all this was true,

and that person would say that it was. When this was over, Saddam Husayn censured the accused ones, saying that they were thereby deprived of their functions in the [Baith] Party and that they consequently were no longer allowed to attend the meeting. So one by one they left the meeting headquarters in the Palace of the Republic and found police cars waiting to take them to prison.

How could a conspiracy on this scale--which included five members of the Command Council and dozens of government officials and officers, such that it is said that the final number of those arrested and tried amounted to more than 300 persons--occur again only 6 years after the previous one? And what are Command Council members, who are in the highest party and government positions, demanding when they try to take over the government when they are already part of it?

There are many questions that refer to puzzling phenomena in Arab societies and regimes, all of which are based on suspicion, doubt, and plotting.

It has been proven that the method with which the Iraqi leadership dealt with the Nazim Kazzar 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Samarra'i conspiracy in 1973, which was that of relying solely on force as a means of punishment, was not sufficient as a deterrent or means of hindering the rise of similar such attempts. And force alone, in dealing with this latest conspiracy, will not be sufficient as a deterrent or means of hindering such attempts in the future. Although some Iraqi Baithists feel that the pardoning of 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Samarra'i last time was what allowed the ones presently accused to have a focal point to rally around which represented an "alternative party legitimacy," the majority of the Iraqis, Baithists and non-Baithists, feel that Iraq is a rich country, with great natural and human resources, and is making very rapid progress. They feel that Iraq's state of political and economic stability during the last few years had helped it to achieve progress domestically and to gain a good reputation in the eyes of the Arabs and of the world, and that Iraq should not be permitted to move backward and enter a new whirlpool of coups, conspiracies, and conditions characterized by a lack of stability.

Although what has happened in Iraq lately at the beginning of Saddam Husayn's rule may hurt his reputation and detract from the good name he enjoys in the eyes of the Iraqis, the Arabs, and the world, which he has acquired and which was sanctified by the famous pledge of allegiance letter which was sent to him by Mr Michel 'Aflaq, the secretary general of the Baith Party, in which he described him as "an inspiring leader and thinker," still it may be lucky for him that all this has happened at the beginning [of his rule], if he knows how to successfully deal with the aforementioned events in a way which is not limited strictly to the use of force. The condition of negative opposition--represented by "abd al-Khaliq al-Samarra'i and serving as a focal point for people whose reasons for their opposition vary and may even contradict each other--is always destined to involve conspiracies, the consequences of which are not laudable. This condition cannot be eliminated except by means of creating a climate which permits constructive

opposition, based on a desire to promote the country's stability and progress.

The last question which is being raised in Arab diplomatic circles concerns the fate of Syrian-Iraqi unity. If it is true that Syria is the foreign party which is accused of supporting the attempted coup, then what will happen to relations between the two countries?

Expectations indicate that Saddam Husayn's silence about naming the foreign party involved is an attempt by him to put pressure on the Syrian regime to establish new Syrian-Iraqi relations according to his conditions, the most important of which is party unity before unity of the two countries. But if this does not happen, then Syrian-Iraqi relations could be in a position where they could be upset again, as was the case before the last rapprochement.

9468

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TRIALS, SENTENCES OF THE ACCUSED, INNOCENT

Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 7 Aug 79 p 9

[Article by Najib 'Abd-al-Hadi: "Dispatch from Baghdad: Sentences Postponed for Some Defendants, Others Acquitted; Changes and Reforms in Cabinet, Army and Intelligence Agency"]

[Text] In spite of the deep wound with which the leadership of the party and the state has been afflicted, Baghdad appears calm and peaceable with nothing disturbing the serenity of the daily routine of life. Dealing with the attempted coup that was announced recently was left to those who are in power. The people here are awaiting the pronouncement of sentences upon the conspirators.

I have learned that the court has concluded its examination of the charge that was leveled against the group of conspirators. Some people have estimated that this group has 400 members, whereas others say that the number of people in that group exceeds 500. What is important is that no one here knows the real number of detainees. All that is of interest to people here and in the different Arab capitals is that the sentences be pronounced and that the reality, the details and the documents of the conspiracy be made public. It seems that the sentences were about to be pronounced today--yesterday--but, for unknown reasons, it was determined that sentencing would be postponed to another date.

Harsh Punishments

Well-informed sources told AL-WATAN that the waiting period will not be long. These sources added that the anticipated sentences will include harsh and severe punishments. There will be death sentences and life sentences. There will also be acquittals since it is believed that there is a group of innocent people among the detainees who did not actually participate in the conspiracy. [Members of this group] had party, personal and family ties that were over 10 years old with some of the key figures in the conspiracy. The detention of those people was carried out as a precautionary measure for the purpose of completing the investigation with those who were accused of conspiring.

No Statements

Iraqi officials have refrained from making statements about the conspiracy and its key figures [as they waited] for the sentences to be pronounced and for instructions to be issued from above in that regard. They have also refrained from meeting journalists who have begun flocking to the Iraqi capital to examine the progress of the trials more closely. The fact that officials have refrained from making any statements or providing any information can be justified. The party and the state in Iraq have been satisfied with issuing the solitary statement that made the announcement officially and revealed the existence of a conspiracy and conspirators. The statement brought out some of the names--and these are big and prominent names--[of people] who have played political, party and administrative roles in the last 10 years. The power of those who were mentioned [in the statement] was extensive in different activities and fields that covered all aspects of life in the country. There was major party support for the power those people had [in government], and there was even more support for them from President Saddam Husayn, who had given them his confidence and a free hand, every one in his area of specialization. He had placed at their disposal all the capabilities that were available to the state and to the party. President Saddam Husayn's misfortune, therefore, is unparalleled. He tells those around him, "I have been stung in my own house and by my own brothers!"

Reevaluation

"Saddam Husayn was not as strong as he is now," said one senior party official to AL-WATAN. The party official added that this passing predicament really hurt him and made him apply himself to the task of reevaluating all internal conditions in Iraq and chief among those is the condition of the ruling party. The Iraqi president is intent upon maintaining the unity of the party and forestalling division and factionalism. He is, therefore, reconsidering the structure of the party from the base to the top especially since some of the key conspirators were in control of the economic, oil and planning capabilities of the country. Some of them were responsible for the sector of workers and farmers and were supervising their unions and activities directly. Some of them were responsible for large segments of the popular army that are found in the capital. It is estimated that there are 100,000 armed persons in the popular army [who are stationed] in the capital only and that they are scattered throughout the different areas and suburbs of Baghdad.

The Wisdom of Command

A senior Iraqi official says, "Had it not been for the wisdom of the command and the fact that it is blessed with self-control, the country would have been subjected to the worst and the ugliest massacre in our modern history."

This statement is accurate and certain. The Iraqi command is well aware of the importance of self-control and the danger of precipitate action which

usually leads only to disaster whose horrid and hideous consequences no one but God knows. The philosophy of self-control also has goals, and perhaps the most prominent of those goals is the fact that the Iraqi command is trying to find out the truth and the magnitude of the conspiracy from the information that it has so far collected. It is trying to find out who is behind this conspiracy and who stands to benefit from it. Although the Iraqi command has alluded to the front that is supporting the conspirators or has supported and prodded them, it finds that the time for identifying this front in public has not yet come. This is because it is careful about the gains that Iraq has achieved through the Baghdad Summit Conference. It is also careful about the survival of the unity of the Arab rank; it is insisting upon Iraq's role of leadership; it is trying to prevent the deterioration of political conditions in the Arab region; and it is trying to make the advocates of capitulation miss the opportunity they have been seeking by all means and methods to fragment the Arab world and to break up all the honorable and serious efforts that are being made to create a power capable of confronting the plans of the al-Sadat, Begin and Carter trio.

Saddam and the Honorable Picture

President Saddam Husayn is well aware of the horror of the tragedy [that would have ensued] had these plans been successful. He is also aware that a rash announcement of a change in the Iraqi position would destroy the resolutions of the Baghdad Summit and also the resolutions of the upcoming Conference of Arab Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Economy. He is therefore making an exhausting effort to maintain a bright and radiant outlook and to keep up the hopes of the Arab world. It seems that the Iraqi president dealt with all these matters in the meetings he has held and is holding with party cadres and organizations. It is believed that he has explained all his views on the future political stage. It is also believed that many party organizations will be affected by reform. There is also a real determination to lay down new foundations for a democratic life. Democracy will be granted in [small] dosages so that it would not be abused. At present there is also an inclination to fill the positions that have been vacated by the arrest of a number of senior leaders in the regional and national command and also in the cabinet. It is believed that a cabinet shuffle will include many cabinet dossiers. The reforms will also include the intelligence agency which had failed to expose the conspirators who had been planning for their coup since 1975. The reform movement will also include some leadership positions in the military establishment.

8592

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AMERICAN SOLUTION TO PALESTINIAN PROBLEM CRITICIZED

Jerusalem AL SHA'B in Arabic 3 Aug 79 p 1

/Article: "Statement by AL SHA'B: The Most Recent Adherents to the American Solutions"/

/Text/ The last few days have witnessed an intensification of the American campaign of delusion, which reactionary media have seized upon in order to create the impression that the crisis of the region is, thanks to American efforts, on the way to being eased. This campaign of delusion is based on a group of main points which have been laid bare and may be summarized as follows:

1. The illusion that Carter's administration, by agreeing last Monday to a postponement of the Palestinian issue in deference to the desire of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Kuwait, wants a grace period in which to set forth the basis of a new formula to deal with the Palestinian cause which will be acceptable to its scepter-bearers in the region and will incur the intense wrath of Israel.
2. People have started to publicize this American step, stating that it expresses President Carter's administration's desire to open the way for unofficial talks with the Liberation Organization.
3. Constant American emphasis on opposition to establishment of the Palestinian state is being ignored and the illusion is being disseminated that the Liberation Organization is taking extreme positions in refusing to recognize Security Council Resolution 242 along with the "generous" conditional offers which the American administration is offering the Liberation Organization under the aegis of Western sources.
4. Speculation is taking place over angry Israeli reactions to these items of news, to the degree that American moves are being embellished and made to seem like those of a person who is in the process of renouncing continuous commitments to Israel by failing to move in any direction which will please it or by standing up to its will.

The fact is that the position which everyone who revolves in the American orbit is adopting does not express any new platforms, since this position provides them the poisonous herbs which they wish to grow on the soil of the firm position the Liberation Organization is adopting on all conditional, rejected American solutions.

They are well aware, as is President Carter's administration, that the Palestinian condition for the establishment of a just peace in the region is not based on any extremism or moderation which people are trying to confer on the organization's position through America's foreign policy or its sterile solutions to the crisis of the region, because this only means splitting the Palestinians into extremists and moderates, isolating each camp and embarking on various experiments to liquidate it.

Here the need to remind people of the priorities of the American position and the extent of its connection with Israeli policies--and, in a subsequent stage, Egyptian ones which insist on imposition of its hegemony over the area--becomes apparent.

American interests with Israel and its allies will remain the compass of American policy in the Middle East. We are perhaps not stretching the truth when we say that the leaders of the White House are too weak to take the initiative of changing their policy in the region. How often has the veneer been stripped off America's face in the wake of every deceptive media storm which did not compel the Israeli prime minister to go to the president!

Thus don't they remember what is waiting for Jimmy Carter in 1981?

11887

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BEDOUIN PHYSICIAN DEPLORES EXPROPRIATION OF LANDS FROM HIS PEOPLE

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 3 Aug 79 p 15

[Interview with Dr Yunes Abu-Rabi'ah, the Bedouin Physician, Dov Goldstein:
"I am Sad and Ashamed: by Expropriating the Negev Lands the Government
Is Turning the Faithful Bedouin Into Peacetime Refugees"]

[Text] A feeling of disaster has been created in the soul of Dr Yunes Abu-Rabi'ah, the only Bedouin physician in Israel. In his long road from the Abu-Rabi'ah tribe in Tell-Milhata to the white gown of an Israeli physician, Yunes has broken through all the walls and leaped over all the obstacles from within and without. Now, in the face of the government's intention to expropriate the Bedouin lands in the Negev and to prevent the Bedouin from making a court appeal to defend their rights, he feels that this is one wall that he cannot break through.

"You know," says Dr Yunes Abu-Rabi'ah, in excellent Hebrew, with downcast eyes, "if I were asked what was the strongest feeling that ruled over me this week, after the Knesset confirmed this racist law at the first reading, I would have said: I am sad. Not angry, not indignant, not racking my brains for ways to frustrate the government's terrible scheme against my tribe and other tribes. That will come perhaps too late. Rather, I am sad. It is as though my world had been destroyed, my faith in Israel shattered.

"And after the sadness came shame; yes, shame. Bedouin come to me, the mature and the young, from different generations. They say to me: 'Yunes, you were mistaken. Not only were you mistaken, but you led us astray, too. We believed you. All these years you told us that this was our state, that we could and must live with the Jews, that the Jews themselves had been a minority in the lands of their exile, and had been persecuted and degraded. So, because they knew from experience the lot of a minority, they would understand us now, and they would guard our honor and our tradition. Yunes, we are disappointed in you. The Jews lied to you, and you unwittingly lied to us. All these years you have lied to us.'"

New World in Nazareth

To Dr Yunes Abu-Rabi'ah's temporary clinic in Be'er Sheva come three young Bedouin. They are dressed like Israelis. They talk like Israelis. It is

hard to find any identifying marks that distinguish them from the Israelis. They turn out their pockets, and pour wrinkled rolls of money of all denominations onto the table in the waiting room. These are the contributions of Bedouin families. Yunes smiles. "The struggle will cost money. We are now collecting contributions from all the families whom the government decided to evict from their land. What a brutal perversity of fate! In 1948 we did not flee from the Israelis. We were never refugees. Now the government of Israel will turn us into refugees."

"Dr Abu-Rabi'ah, please tell us how you came to be a physician, how you made the long journey from your tribal tents to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, to the hospital in Be'er Sheva, and to the private clinic."

"I was born in 1945, a member of the Abu-Rabi'ah tribe near 'arad. I was born in a tent just like my three sisters and eight brothers. From childhood I was a farmer, and I tended goats and sheep. From childhood I learned to pray for rain.

"The tribal school had only five grades. I finished them, and was eager to acquire more knowledge. This would not have been acceptable before the establishment of Israel. The lot of a boy such as I, if Israel had not been established, was determined in advance: to be either a farmer or a common laborer. But the state of Israel brought with it a new spirit, and turned the impossible into the possible.

"Jewish children came with their parents to visit our tribe. They talked about their studies, and inflamed by longing to break out of the tribal tents into a different kind of future. My father had also heard about studies. He encouraged me to leave the tribe for a long period, to study at the boarding school in Nazareth.

"In 1955 a new world was revealed to me: the city of Nazareth. My brother and I and some others from the tribes were there. The school was Christian, but many of the pupils and even some of the teachers were Moslems. We were treated with courtesy and consideration. They let us keep our religion and our way of life. But in any case we were deeply influenced by the school, nor did we escape the urban customs, although we almost never went outside the school or mixed with the city folk of Nazareth."

"When did you start to dream of studying medicine?"

"When I was 13 or 14. Every vacation we were very eager to go home. Just as the Jews in exile dreamed of the land of Israel and prayed to return there, so we also felt as though — in exile in Nazareth, like prisoners, and we longed to go back to the bosom of Nature that belonged to us, to the tribe.

"The desire to learn medicine grew in me because of the conditions of tribal existence. I saw my fellow tribesmen suffering without suitable

medical help. I saw the traditional primitive medicine, passed on from generation to generation, inadequate, struggling hopelessly against illness."

Contact With the Jews

"How did the first close contact with the Jews occur?"

"This was certainly the first close contact: Previously I had known almost no Jews either in the tribe or in Nazareth where I saw them as tourists. Really, the Jews are not all alike in their characteristics, just as the Bedouin are different from one another. But already then I could identify many distinguishing signs, especially among the young Jewish students. I learned that their manners were not like those of the Bedouin. If you're trying to achieve something, you must learn to pound the table, and open a way for yourself with your elbows. Otherwise you will get nowhere and achieve nothing....

"There was a wall between us. But I was more at fault than the Jews were. I was afraid that they might think, What is this Bedouin looking for here? Why is he suddenly trying to break into a world that is not his and doesn't suit him? And this fear kept me away from the Jews and condemned me to loneliness."

"How the wall breached? At your initiative?"

"No, more by the initiative of the Jewish students. They approached me and turned out to be true friends. They offered me much help, and encouraged me in times of crisis. My Hebrew was stammering, and my ability to understand the lectures was limited. The Jewish students translated the content of the lectures for me in the middle of the lessons, they loaned me their notebooks, they suggested that we study together at home and prepare lessons together. I was a good student. I could not have achieved this without the help and friendship of the Jewish students."

"And how did your fellow tribesmen behave toward you when you came home during vacations?"

"Precisely there a wall of aloofness was raised. Many complained that I was attempting the impossible. Many said: Where is Yunis going? What is he trying to prove? A Bedouin--a physician, from the University? You know that is impossible, and the end will be that he will disgrace us, because he tried and failed. Those Bedouin aren't worth anything.

"They actually could not believe that I was advancing each year and getting closer to the end of my studies."

"And then, after you finished your studies?"

"I served my internship in the hospital in Be'er Sheva, and I repaid the Ministry of Health for the year that I owed them, in the Bedouin clinics. The tribesmen had much trouble getting used to this strange phenomenon. In the street the old men 'suffered' the pain of getting used to me. Had not this child grown up here? He rolled about at our feet, we would chase him out so that he would not disturb the grown-ups' conversation. And all of a sudden he's become an authority, to cure us. Does he know what's good and what isn't?

"And there was a difficult problem with the Bedouin women. They had to get over a high barrier: to get undressed and to be examined by a Bedouin doctor was much more serious than in the presence of a Jewish doctor; for the Jewish doctor was from a different world, and his professional skill covered their embarrassment and confusion. But in front of this Bedouin youth, from their tribe?

"I remember one disturbing incident. I was sent to a Bedouin clinic near Shoal to replace a Jewish doctor. About 50 Bedouin women were waiting there for the doctor. When they saw me a complaining whisper went among the women. I sat down. The door was closed. Not a single woman would come in to the Bedouin doctor. I went out to them. They were standing in line, but not coming in. A Bedouin friend, a building contractor, happened to be there. He inspected the line; his wife was in it. He explained to his wife what was happening and urged her: 'Be the first one. When the others see you go in, they will go in too.' And that is how the problem was solved. She was the first, and all the other women went in after her. The barrier had been knocked down."

"When you returned to the hospital as a regular doctor, did the Jewish patients know of your origin?"

"Yes. Such news spreads very quickly."

A Moroccan or a Persian?

"Could you feel any reservations on the part of the Jewish patients?"

"In general, no. Between the patient and the doctor there naturally forms a kind of dependence that the patient develops toward the doctor. People say to themselves, if this doctor were not reliable, the hospital would not hire him. Generally it was easier for me in the hospital than outside it; in the hospital you are not the only doctor. The patient is aware that doctors consult with one another, and he knows that every diagnosis and treatment meets the approval of the department manager and senior physicians. Many times I heard the patients whispering as they tried to guess my origin. Once, after I had examined a husband and wife and recommended medication, I heard them arguing: The husband said, 'He's a Moroccan.' The wife said, 'No, he's a Persian.' Finally the woman said, 'Pardon me, Doctor, my husband and I have a bet on your origin. Perhaps you can tell us who is right?' I said, 'I am a Bedouin, of the Abu-Rabi'ah tribe in the Negev.' They left. Perhaps they thought I was making fun of them."

"Did you have problems with the Jewish doctors?"

"No, no problems at all. They behaved toward me in keeping with my medical qualifications."

"And meanwhile, have you become a family man?"

"Yes, I got married 4 years ago, to a Moslem girl from Nazareth, a city girl, Ya'ani. We live in a rented apartment in Be'er Sheva; it's nice and comfortable. We have two daughters."

"Why did you leave the hospital?"

"Actually, I haven't left yet. All my years at the hospital I was free three times a week for a part-time position taking care of Bedouin in a Qupat Holim clinic. Now we are turning the Bedouin clinic in Tel-Sheva into a teaching clinic that belongs to the hospital. Jewish and Arab students will come to the clinic as part of their course program to learn the special illnesses of the Bedouin.

"Meantime, until it becomes a teaching clinic, I have opened this private clinic here, and I am accepting patients on the basis of private fees."

"Do Jews come to you also, or only Bedouin patients?"

"More Jews come than Bedouin, but over all I make no such distinction. Every patient gets the best of treatment."

Only No Politics

"Aside from the problem of medical skill, what is your position today in the Bedouin community, and how do you fit into their struggle against the expropriations?"

"I have a rotten feeling. The Bedouin want me to drop everything, to leave medicine at least for a while, and be free entirely for communal matters."

"Are you inclined to do it?"

"In no way!"

"Perhaps you would be the Bedouin representative in the next Knesset?"

"God forbid! The thing I hate most is politics. I detest the feeling that my fate depends on someone else, that I must obtain the approval of those in whose hands I have pledged my future. I worked very hard so as not to be dependent on someone else's favors, but only on myself, my dedication and my talents. In politics you have to flatter, lie, vote against your conscience, develop crafty ways--all this is contrary to my character and my values."

"What do you see as the most serious problem in the expropriation law?"

"This is the first law in the state of Israel that intentionally, explicitly, openly, unashamedly applies not to the whole population, but only to the Bedouin in the Negev. Therefore it is clearly a racist law, like every other racist law in history, that singles out one group of the population and decrees destruction only for them.

"And if you want to say, like the ministers and the rest of those who support the law, that the state of Israel has no alternative, because this matter is vital for peace, then why does this law apply only to Bedouin and not to the Jews who settled in the Yamit district? The background and the conditions are completely the same. Both the Bedouin in the Negev and the Yamit settlers must get out by a given time, or else Israel will be compelled to annul the peace agreement. Both must be given an alternative to the place where they live now. Evacuation will have to be negotiated with both. Both live on land that the state needs in order to establish peace with Egypt. So why doesn't the law also apply to the Jews in Yamit?

"You can see, the state comes and says to the whole world: 'Yes, we have two classes of citizens. One class is the Jews; they have full rights. The other class is the Bedouin; they are second-class citizens, deprived of equal rights, and against them and only against them I have enacted a special law.' I would not have believed it. I am so ashamed.

"And the other thing; this law negates the law, by preventing the Bedouin from protesting the expropriation in court. A state that denies the right to receive relief in court to only one class of its citizens abandons them to the arbitrary will of the government and deprives them of the basic right to depend on the court.

Broadminded and Generous

"But the government claims that it will indemnify the Bedouin with broad-mindedness and generosity."

"That is the third severe paragraph in the law. What they call broadmindedness and generosity is ridicule of the poor, a terrible shame, that would be very funny if it were not so serious. The law turns the Bedouin into destitute refugees, peace-time refugees, who had never been wartime refugees. This is expulsion, unequivocally; within 3 months a Bedouin must abandon his house and go away.

"Where will he go? I heard some responsible person say on the radio that every Bedouin who lives in a stone house still has a tent for emergencies. This kind of talk is terrible, terrible. Why don't they solve the problem of the young couples and their distress housing in this way? It would be so cheap! Come and look; if it were not written in black and white, by the authority of the government of Israel, I would not have believed it either.

See the broadminded generous compensation; IL 15,000 per room in a stone house. A Bedouin who lives with a family of 10 persons in three rooms will get IL 45,000. What will he build with it? Where will he go? He is offered a donum of land in one of six Bedouin villages. Fine. But with what will he finance construction? With IL 45,000?"

"But doesn't the law compensate the Bedouin for land in exchange for land?"

"Perfect! And how it compensates! Come look at the law; here is the official version: In exchange for 150 donums of land that was expropriated, the Bedouin will get 1 donum! Plus 500 cubic meters of water, a quantity that will barely suffice for a whole family. If he held and worked from 150 to 250 donums, he gets 2 donums compensation. From 250 to 350, he gets 3 donums, and if he had more than 350 donums, he gets 4 donums. That's it. End of compensation. Broadmindedness? Generosity?"

"And if the Bedouin lives in a shanty or a tin shack?"

"We are talking of a population of about 8,000 souls. Most of them live in stone houses or shanties. Now listen to the compensation for someone who lives in a stone house:

"This is what the law says: Whoever lives in a tin shack or a tent shall receive IL 6,500. Whoever lives in a poor shanty, IL 10,400. You hear? Ten thousand four hundred lira. Whoever lives in a good shanty, IL 13,000. There it is."

"Do you recognize the need to remove the Bedouin from an 86,000 donum area in order to set up a new air field?"

"Definitely; beyond all doubt. The Bedouin shayks offered to conduct negotiations with the government that would last no more than 3 months, and without any law. But the government refused. Why should it negotiate when it can turn the Bedouin into refugees with this racist law!

"Is the situation on fire suddenly? The peace agreement with Egypt was signed 5 months ago. If not before the signing of the Camp David agreements, it was definitely clear at least 5 months ago that the Bedouin lands would have to be expropriated. What did the government do for 5 months? Instead of negotiating with the Bedouin they devised this law; instead of reaching an understanding with its loyal citizens, it turns them into unfortunate refugees."

"What do you see as a just solution?"

"To conduct proper negotiations, without the whip of an illegal law. The Bedouin are ready to evacuate the land that is needed for an air field. They want to be in agricultural villages, not in Bedouin towns, which have been a complete failure. Bedouin towns were planned back in 1964. Only two were established. One, Tel-Sheva, is a total failure. The apartments there are empty. There is no basis for any kind of decent livelihood. We don't want

such development towns. They destroy the Bedouin social structure, the tradition, the religion, and the youth. Our social framework will disintegrate. The foundations of the society will be destroyed. The Bedouin youth that was obedient and attached to tradition will be attracted to drugs. The girls will make a living as prostitutes. We don't want that."

"What is the Bedouin's state of mind, now that the law had been approved at its first reading?"

"The Bedouin say that their government has deceived them. It paid court when it needed their cooperation, their desert trackers. And now, it's throwing them to the dogs."

"How did the law make you feel?"

"Anguish, shame, and disappointment; not at the Knesset or the government, but at the Jews. Where are the masses of Jews from all the parties and all the social levels? How is it that they do not rise and cry out against the racism, the hard decrees of which they themselves as a people experienced? How can they be silent? I would like to hear the protest of the Jewish masses. This is not just our problem. A government and a Knesset that can enact such a law against the Bedouin, can enact other laws of the same sort, but against Jews who do not agree with the government's policy."

A Temporary Defeat

"What do you answer to the Bedouin who claim that you have led them astray by saying that we can, and must live together with the Jews on a basis of equal rights?"

"I explain: My assumption has not been proved wrong. We can and must live together! Right now this is a temporary defeat."

"Why did you cooperate with the Arabs of Galilee in a violent demonstration at the Knesset this week?"

"We did not cooperate. The Committee for the Defense of Land scheduled a demonstration, and by accident we demonstrated at the same time."

"This 'accident' looks suspicious."

"No. There was really no coordination, nor was it our intention."

"Do you identify with the slogans that were displayed in that demonstration, referring to a Palestinian state?"

"That is another question. I am managing the struggle against the expropriation law as an Israeli Arab, an Israeli citizen, loyal to the state of Israel."

"What do you foresee in your struggle against this law?"

"The Bedouin will not leave their land. If they come to evict them by force there will be a bloody struggle."

"Are you afraid of the possibility that the Bedouin will now take an extreme position and join the supporters of a Palestinian state?"

"I don't know. Clearly from now on the Bedouin will be much more extreme in their position. I stood there in the square in front of the Knesset, and I saw the inflamed faces, and my heart shrank with pain and shame. How could the state of Israel commit this act against its Bedouin? I don't understand it."

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THEORETICIAN DISCUSSES CHANGES IN LOCAL POWER ALINEMENTS

Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 13 Aug 79 p 3

/Article by Clovis Maqaud: "The Start of American Consciousness vis-a-vis the Middle East- but Where Does the Arab World Stand on These Turbulent Events?"/

/Text/ Where do we stand? Where do we stand on the events which are raging in many of the world's areas and communities?

We must have a position on these events for it is because of them that these areas and communities take specific stands regarding us and our causes. It is true that our influence on events is not always of the same magnitude and that the influence others have over us will never consistently be as effective, but we are in an area of extreme sensitivity in the world and are in a position where we affect events more than we want and are affected by them more than we like. Thus we have no choice but to analyze the developments of time precisely in following up on events in a continuing fashion and to be apprised seriously of their details and significance.

By ignoring many events we have harmed many aspects of our progress and obstructed our abilities to benefit from the opportunities provided for us to assert and attain the unity of our nation and our national and popular rights.

Here it is worth pointing out that the world, in its various regions and its political, ideological and official attitudes, views us as an ethnic unit, although it may on most occasions deal with us as fragmented units: in other words, many regions of the world have found, in what we state and call for, a potential for the determination to act as a national unit. We are betting on our potential power and on the seriousness of the decisions it is in our power to adopt.

These regions have been prepared to deal with us not on the basis of our actual condition but in the light of what we were determined to be or what we claimed we wanted to be, while other regions of the world are

still betting that we will stay where we are until we work out the means for controlling our powers. Since the end result of what we can achieve constitutes a threat to their interests and their power to dominate and control--thus to prevent the likely congruence between what our condition ought to be and what it actually is--any schizophrenia in dealing with us as Arabs is to a large extent the reflection of a latent or overt schizophrenia in ourselves. It thus devolves upon us to close, within and among ourselves, the existing gap between what we say we want and what we actually do want, between what we are able to carry out and what we are prepared to carry out, between what we want the world to respond to. In other words, we have to emerge from the vortex of dissimilarity, and sometimes contradiction, between what we say and do, between what we announce and actually plan for.

A Common Arab Interpretation

Thus we must realize a minimum of what we in the past have called a common Arab interpretation of events, so that we may thereby be able to adopt common Arab stands. Thus the answer to the question "where do we stand on events?" makes it mandatory that we define who we are. It is plain that as long as the world continues to view us as Arabs--or at a minimum as an Arab region--it would be most fitting for us to view ourselves as Arabs and to act, as far as possible, as if we possessed a common destiny.

The events we are talking about now are numerous and multi-faceted, and it is difficult to study them diligently or analyze them precisely. Suffice it to point out that the proliferation of these events makes it incumbent that we study them and see within them examples of the challenges and confrontations we are involved in or progressing toward. Perhaps the most important event which has occurred in the past few days is the American President Jimmy Carter's speech appealing for greater independence from oil-exporting countries and an energy policy which calls for halving crude oil imports from 9 to 4.5 million barrels a day in the next 10 years. The energy program which President Carter declared also calls for the investment of more than \$140 billion on research and development of alternatives to petroleum energy in the form of coal, solar energy and so forth.

He Appeals and Calls for War

In recent years American policy has been incapable of producing an integrated, homogeneous energy policy. The Americans imagined that it was in their capability to consume cheap oil and sustain their ability to consume more than 35 percent of the world's energy, although they constituted less than 6 percent of the world's population. We found President Carter, in his three speeches, calling the American people to war and appealing to them to adhere to their unity and regain confidence in his leadership. It is true that President Carter's orientation was to the domestic economic challenge, but the energy policy he intends to carry out must have effects on the Arab situation and on Arab destiny itself. How is that so?

What cannot be doubted is that in its emphasis the speech ruled out the option of military intervention, although it did not drop it as a possibility. This means that the cost of the option of intervention, as stated in a report presented to the Congress Energy Committee had a direct effect in ruling out this alternative, which a right wing-Zionist current latent in the American ruling establishment had called for /sic/. Also, President Carter's emphasis on the need to explore for and produce alternatives to oil must impress on oil Arabs the necessity to hasten building structural and institutional frameworks in Arab societies as well as diversifying the alternatives to resources for the future when oil revenues start to run dry.

Hastening to diversify sources of wealth and production among the Arabs must be compatible with the schedule being drawn up to enable the United States, and subsequently the Western European countries and Japan, to do without sources of Arab oil or oil from OPEC organization states. If serious thought is not given, as of now, to prepare an Arab development plan which will make it possible to exercise an independence corresponding to that which the United States intends to exercise, then we will have lost the opportunity which has been granted to us to enter the 20th century during the 20th century. In this regard, as well, we find that the policy of gradually dispensing with imported oil, as President Carter stressed, must be accompanied by the gradual creation, within the overall Arab situation, of an economic and organizational immunity which will fuse sources of Arab wealth with elements of the revolution for change within the Arab nation.

The Start of American Awareness

President Carter's speech was the beginning of an American awareness. The proponents of the policy of military intervention had been striving to make oil Arabs the scapegoat for the suppression which had befallen their imperialist designs and the failure of their economic policies. This American awareness also perceives, as the New York TIMES pointed out in its 14 July editorial, that most oil states would rather their wells were destroyed than have foreigners allowed to run them or take them over again. It went on to say, "Is it reasonable for us to say that the policy of conduct must remain as it is, taking the form of consumer gluttony for energy which overruns other people? If this is our moral attitude, why don't we start by taking over Mexico?"

It appears to us that what President Carter announced in the energy program, concerning the need to save energy and the beginning of a state of self-denial, represents concentration on the policy of weak spots in the American economic situation at the expense of dangerous trends which call for a shift from concentration to military adventures and adventures of intervention which will threaten the interests of the American people and world peace.

Therefore we can say that as far as his proposals for dealing with the energy crisis are concerned President Carter's platform is in conformity with many features of oil-state planning for the future.

In this area, we should still realize that this preference for a reasonable policy and the ruling out of the military option in coping with energy challenges does not mean that irrational options have been definitively dropped, even if they have been ruled out.

And So

The Summit of African States dealt with a number of basic issues concerning Arab countries, some of which affect them directly. On the matter of the Sahara and the dispute which has arisen between Algeria, Morocco, Polisario and Mauritania, we find that there has been no nationally-integrated Arab plan to deal with regional and national disputes in the African context. It would have been more suitable and feasible to keep these disputes in the national context or at least in the context of the League of Arab States. What happened at the Conference of African States at Monrovia is another indication of a readiness, on the part of many of us, to seek decisions from others on disputes which arise between us, and we should have avoided this, because every dispute within the national context must be subjected to the requirements of national relations. Turning the dispute in the Western Sahara region into a subject to be addressed to the African Summit is an indication that geographical affiliation is being preferred to ethnic affiliation.

What is important in the Monrovia conference also is that Arab countries situated in Africa are compelled to find themselves in a direct confrontation with President al-Sadat's policies: President al-Sadat can turn any discussion concerning the Egyptian-Israeli treaty toward the African dimension, not just toward Africa in its geographic sense but also to serve his current ends and his renunciation of the national and liberationist commitments of the Arabs and the Africans. By a strange coincidence, President al-Sadat is able to use the reservoir of good will left for 'Abd-al-Nasir's Egypt in the African liberation movement to serve the Egypt of al-Sadat, which resists Egypt's national and African heritage. Also, President al-Sadat, parenthetically, will try to use Egypt's reservoir of good will in the nonaligned movement to divert the objective role of evaluation away from the current role of al-Sadat's Egypt, which is in opposition to both the African liberation policy on the one hand and the objectives of the nonaligned movement on the other.

The Loss of Coordination

From this it may be concluded that the loss of previous Arab coordination to confront such likely events as those which occurred at the Monrovia Summit may be attributed to the fact that the Baghdad Summit and the seminal resolutions which resulted from it, bearing on the condemnation and

punishment of Egypt and al-Sadat, were not accompanied by a coordinated clarification campaign among African and nonaligned countries. We waited until these conferences were held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, and Monrovia then almost astounded the two conferences with the severity of our opposition to the treaty and to the policies of al-Sadat's Egypt and with the extent of the unity of our positions and policies in this regard. It was well known that numerous Arab countries helped explain their resistance to the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, but what our friends in the third world, and in the world in general, did not know was that resistance to the treaty is a unanimous Arab position, a comprehensive one, and a serious and homogeneous one. If the African and nonaligned countries realized how comprehensive the position was in the Arab context and how serious the commitment to it was, no hesitation would have occurred and it would not have been in President al-Sadat's power to appear to Africa like a party empowered to appeal for a verdict and to make it seem as if the accused were Egypt, and not the Egypt of al-Sadat.

Coming to Somoza

Diverse changes have occurred in three third world countries although all three were fundamental changes of leadership. In Nicaragua, Somoza's regime fell and along with it the attempts to turn the extirpation of fascism into the imperative of "resisting Communism and destructive ideas." How many similar features there are between the stages of the downfall of the Shah in Iran and the fall of Somoza in Nicaragua! Events are giving a strong push to the struggles of peoples against repression, repressive powers and regimes which live by grinding down or usurping rights. Just as the Shah had Savak, so did Somoza have the "National Guard." Just as the former regime collapsed, so did the latter. Thus the hopes of many down-trodden peoples were revived, and they discovered that their perseverance and sacrifices were not destined to be abused but that it was in their power to produce results and victories. However, we also find that the "Sandinista" movement is a group of differing ideological and political currents just as the revolutionary movement in Iran was a group of differing currents.

All these, and other, events, require careful study on the part of decision-makers in the Arab countries. We believe that the establishment of a central agency to monitor, analyze and review these events for decision-makers and opinion-makers in the Arab world will have the effect of producing unified interpretations of events, whereupon we will be able to repel their negative features as far as possible and benefit from their positive ones as far as possible.

Failing unity among the Arabs, we cannot aspire to more than this for the time being.

MINISTER OF INTERIOR ANNOUNCES BANNING OF MEETINGS

Nouakchott CHAAB in French 28 Aug 79 pp 1, 8

[Statement to the people by Lt Col Dia Amadou, minister of interior, on 28 August in Nouakchott: "We Must Prohibit Anyone From Inciting or Exalting Subversion"]

[Text] This afternoon, Lt Col Dia Amadou, member of the CMSN [Military Committee for National Security] and minister of interior, made a statement to the press -- a statement in which he issued a warning to all those who, in the current situation, are attempting to cause trouble and sow discord.

On the same occasion, he issued a call to the people to be vigilant.

We are publishing below the entire text of the statement by the minister of interior.

Dear compatriots,

Public tranquility, which is indispensable to our people, must be maintained above all. I will speak to you each time that there is the risk of it being disturbed, in order to inform you about the subversive activities which could influence public opinion with all imaginable distortions.

For several days now, Mauriticians have been holding meetings concerning national problems, the solutions to which are not their responsibility.

I would like to remind everyone here that such action falls within the framework of intoxication. In the face of threats from abroad to the peace which the Mauritanian people have always hoped for, this people -- standing as one man -- supported the agreement of 5 August 1979, which brought an end to an unjust, unpopular war which was not beneficial to the country.

The groups which hold meetings of a public nature in private places are of one mind with foreign countries because they think and act solely against the interests of our nation.

Following a long period of instability, of being a follower, which brought the country nothing but disappointments, Mauritania is trying to become itself. Obviously, our new attitude will not be well received by everyone.

Mauritania must lean on the active forces, such as its youth, its trade unions, all its corporate bodies, in a word on its people.

In any case, the government has always, to a very large extent, explained the decisions it made to the people. Consequently, no meeting is necessary to do the same thing.

The minister of interior, who is in charge of security, launches an urgent appeal to the people of Mauritania to be vigilant, to denounce all those who commit acts which are contrary to the laws and regulations in force in the country.

All meetings, which are prohibited, and any assembly having the character of a private meeting detected during day or night, will be subject to the strict application of the provisions of Article 9 of Act No 73.008 of 23 January 1973, which stipulates that:

"Violators are punishable by imprisonment and a fine."

The public authorities will take the measures necessary for the application of the texts in force, and for the safeguard of public security.

The recognized associations, such as the de facto associations or groups, will have to conform to their proper status. They should not indulge in antinational activities which have a regrettable influence on the spirit of the people.

All male and female Mauritians must prevent anyone from inciting or exalting subversion or collaboration with the enemy of our people. Thus, those who fish in troubled waters, who try to light the flames of discord, who work toward the revival of some form of agitation, have been located, put on file and even followed to the interior of the country where they are trying to ruin the minds of students on vacation.

The government will meet its responsibilities in the face of any reaction which might disturb public order.

In order to satisfy the needs of the collective interest, our administration is using the procedure of the administrative police, which means that every person remains free to carry out his activities on the condition that he does not interfere with the good order in which society must live.

The maintenance of this good order is possible only if the individuals which make it up respect certain rules which equitably limit their rights and their liberties.

By determining the behavior to be maintained, these rules give the administrative police a stronger preventive character.

Let everyone know that the material and moral order will be maintained!

By material order we mean order in the country, in the city, in the street, the absence of disturbances, of riots, of violent movements of the masses.

To ensure material order is to avert plots, subversive or seditious activities; it is to prevent brutal demonstrations, to ensure the freedom to work and, if necessary, to restore the jeopardized order by force.

To ensure moral order is to see to it that nothing upsets proprieties, morals or public morality. It means, for example, to regulate the wearing of bathing suits on a beach, to prohibit obscene shows, that is to say shows which openly violate one's sense of decency.

The government trusts its people to denounce those who would sell short its interests, to defend its honor abroad, to block the way of those who would stir up ill-feeling and to lead the struggle for liberation until the final victory.

A final victory which we deserve because our cause is just.

I thank you.

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CSO: 4400

SUDAN

INFORMATION MINISTER DISCUSSES SUDAN'S POSITION ON ARAB CAUSE

Khartoum AL-SAHAFAH in Arabic 30 Jul 79 p 3

[Interview with Sudanese Minister of Information 'Ali Shammu, in Doha, by Qatar newspaper AL-RAYAH]

[Text] Our position concerning the Arab cause remains unchanged, 'Ali Shammu tells Qatar daily AL-RAYAH. We shall soon publicly announce our opinion, which has been misunderstood, concerning the Egyptian-Israeli agreement. Our relations with Libya have much improved, but this does not mean pulling away from Egypt. The Eritrean question cannot be settled by the power of weapons, and revolutionary forces must become united.

'Ali Shammu, Sudanese minister of information, who visited Doha last week, is a distinctive Arab personality characterized by his refinement and seriousness, and known for his depth and objectivity in dealing with humane, social and political matters.

During this meeting with Mr 'Ali Shammu, we became acquainted with the actual image of the brother country, the Sudan, and its position regarding all the current questions pertaining to the Arab world.

Sudan and Events in Uganda

[Question] With reference to the question concerning the massive arrival of Ugandan refugees in southern Sudan, will President Numayri (chairman of the Organization of African Unity) bring up the matter of the Tanzanian invasion of Uganda and the Tanzanian meddling with the Ugandan government?

[Answer] The massive arrival of Ugandan refugees in the Sudan is the result of the harsh treatment met by Ugandan nationals at the hands of the Tanzanian invasion forces, in particular those whose religion is Islam. That actually was confirmed by some Christian ministers who witnessed that tragedy with their own eyes. Those people consist of women, children and elderly people, including some Moslems from Somalia and South Yemen. They spoke about the savagery with which they were treated. The Sudan considers the question of the refugees a question of humanity, first of all. We have

opened the borders to them, to protect them from the danger of extinction. President Numayri has often spoken about this matter. Correspondents of news agencies and newsmen have met with the refugees, at their camps. They spoke directly to them and learned about the magnitude of the tragedy to which they were exposed. With reference to the Tanzanian invasion, this is a blatant violation of the sovereignty of a neighboring state, as well as of the charter of the Organization of African Unity, the charter of the United Nations and human rights. President Numayri shall bring up the question of this invasion at the next African summit conference in Monrovia.

With reference to Tanzanian meddling with the Ugandan government, we are not absolutely sure about this matter, and we do not believe that the replacing of one president with another is of much concern to us.

Sudan and Ethiopia

[Question] It has been said that an air battle recently took place between the Sudan and Ethiopia, which was denied by the Sudanese ambassador in Kuwait, but what is the real situation on the borders? And where do relations stand between the two countries after the failure of the recent meeting between President Numayri and Chairman Mengistu? What is the position of the Sudan regarding the Eritrean revolution, considering that 'Uthman Salih Sabi, in an interview with AL-RAYAH, has blamed the Sudan for acknowledging the split caused by Saba Afurqui in the Eritrean Revolution Council? It is well known that the Sudan allows the Eritreans to maintain bases on its territory.

[Answer] There was absolutely no air battle between the Sudan and Ethiopia, and that was denied by the Sudanese ambassador after he contacted us and clarified the facts. With reference to the situation on the borders, it is quiet at the present time. Our brothers, the refugees, continue to live in the eastern Sudanese border areas, and there are some of them in the major cities.

With reference to relations between the two countries, as far as the Sudan is concerned, the government is eager to resume the dialogue, since the topic which we brought up, and which was rejected by Chairman Mengistu, is the fact that the Eritrean problem must be recognized and solved by peaceful means, whereas the Ethiopian chairman considered that it is a domestic problem and that it actually was settled by military means.

This is where the point of disagreement is, and this is the main cause of the failure of the talks between the presidents of the Sudan and Ethiopia. For the Sudan, the problem of Eritrea is a political matter, which cannot be settled by military means, since the war may continue and increase in magnitude. Our position regarding this matter is objective, and we are involved with it because we consider that it actually concerns and affects us. With reference to the declaration made by 'Uthman 'Ali Sabi, the Sudan does not intend to recognize any party without recognizing the other, in the tanks of the Eritrean revolution. On the contrary, the Sudan has tried

very hard to unify the Eritrean forces. I am sorry to say that 'Uthman 'Ali Sabi's statement was incorrect, since we are not interested in supporting any party over the other. When you try to bring together the scattered members of the revolutionary ranks, you cannot try to divide them.

Sudan and Chad

[Question] On whose side is the Sudan? Is it with the "Fardalinat" who are supported by Libya or with those who are supported by Nigeria?

[Answer] We personally support no side over the other. A government has been constituted under the decisions of the second Kano conference, and it still exists. When the question of its membership was brought up at the conference of African foreign ministers, our opinion was that preventing the delegation from attending the conference would have worse consequences than letting that delegation attend it, and we tried to bring about some dialogue and mutual understanding between the interested parties, so that efforts might be unified in order to solve this problem.

Sudan and Libya

[Question] After the visit of the vice president of the republic to Tripoli, it has been said that attempts were made to reach a rapprochement. Mr 'Ali al-Turayki, secretary of foreign affairs, in this connection declared to AL-RAYAH in Baghdad: "Does this mean pulling away from Egypt? Will this influence relations with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states owing to the different relations existing between them and Libya?"

[Answer] Our relations with Libya have much improved, especially after the visit of the Sudanese delegation headed by Vice President Rashid al-Tahir. That discussed many problems which had contributed to altering those relations, and the result of that meeting was that all the "Ansar" Brothers, who belonged to the opposition camps in Libya, came back to better feelings. We personally are trying to improve these relations on the basis of a program jointly established by our two countries.

A rapprochement with Libya does not necessarily entail pulling away from Egypt, and the same thing applies with reference to Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states.

Arab Summit

[Question] What does the Sudan think of the suggestion to convene an Arab summit conference right away, along with the proposition that Kuwait should host the conference in question? What does the Sudan think of what is said about the goals of the proposed summit conference being the determination of the "minimum limit program" which might be accepted by the Arabs? And what about President Numayri's suggestion to have the Arab summit conference convened in Mecca?

[Answer] The Sudan always welcomes the convening of the Arab summit conference anywhere, and is in favor of having it convened in Kuwait if everyone agrees about it. With reference to President Numayri's suggestion to have the summit conference convened in Saudi Arabia, the president thought--and still thinks--that there should be some alternate. If the treaty does not bring about the desired results, a mere rejection will not bring the desired results either. Consequently, there should be some alternate, with the help of an Arab summit conference which will clearly determine both the goals and means to reach a cohesive Arab strategy.

Plans Concerning Unification With Egypt

[Question] What point has been reached by the plans concerning economic unification with Egypt, and do they still progress?

[Answer] Economic unification with Egypt is progressing according to schedule in the various fields. Meetings are regularly held in order to reach unification in agricultural and industrial projects, as well as in the fields of health and education. We are trying to achieve this purpose as fast as possible. With reference to the Jonglei projects (Bahr al-Jabal, Equatorial Province), works are progressing satisfactorily and may even be ahead of the time schedule. Some French companies are in charge of the execution of these projects. In addition to the economic consequence of making them available to both Egypt and the Sudan, there will be a social and human effect resulting from the installations which will be established around these projects.

[Question] Is it true that there has been some change or a new definition concerning the attitude of the Sudan with reference to the Egyptian-Israeli treaty?

[Answer] No opinion has been publicly announced by the Sudan to date with reference to the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. Such an opinion shall be publicly announced soon in the light of the firm position of the Sudan with reference to the Arab cause, which may be summed up as follows:

- 1) All occupied Arab lands must be evacuated, starting with Jerusalem, which is an indivisible part of the occupied western side of the Jordan.
- 2) Establishment of the Palestinian state on the liberated land.
- 3) The Palestine Liberation Organization is the rightful and sole representative of the Palestinian people.

This is the basic and firm position of the Sudan with reference to the Arab cause. We actually have fought in all the wars with the Arab nation, and we have assumed our share of Arab responsibility.

[Question] A statement of yours, in favor of the treaty, was published some time ago in the Egyptian newspapers, mentioning that the Sudan was willing to establish diplomatic relations with Israel.

[Answer] There is absolutely no truth in what has been said in Cairo. Furthermore, there is no truth at all in the comments published by some Gulf newspapers about an Israeli newsman, whom I do not even know, being there when those alleged declarations were made. They have made me say things I have never said, and what was published in Cairo was both absurd and regrettable. How can I decide to establish relations with Israel while addressing a press conference?

At any rate, the position of the Sudan is clear with reference to the Arab cause. We have instructed our ambassadors to convey messages to the Arab heads of states and foreign ministers after attempts were made by some people to distort the facts on purpose.

[Question] Why did the Sudan withdraw its troops from the Arab prevention force in Lebanon?

[Answer] We have as much as possible tried to stay away from the areas where the fight is going on. The direct cause of the withdrawal of the Sudanese troops was the result of the fabrications and attacks directed against the position of the Sudan by some news media in the area where the prevention force was. That is why we preferred to withdraw our troops instead of creating possible friction.

Red Sea Security

[Question] What point has been reached with reference to the suggestions of the Sudan concerning the need for Arab coordination (with Saudi Arabia, North Yemen and Somalia) to ensure the security of the Red Sea?

[Answer] With reference to the security of the Red Sea and in spite of its importance, a move was made some time ago in this regard, but it has either stopped or is currently stagnating. We will try to revive this movement owing to the importance of the security of the Red Sea for both the Arab world per se and the whole world.

Exemplary Newspaper

Before concluding his statements, the Sudanese minister told AL-RAYAH: I have been pleased to find that AL-RAYAH has such a high standard and such a readiness, which actually make it an exemplar for the Arab press, which is needed at this stage. It is a quiet and balanced voice, which addresses the mind and does not degrade itself for the sake of sensationalism. We very badly need a quiet and balanced voice, which may present things realistically and intelligently, and relate them faithfully to the Arab reader, to contribute its share in shedding light on the way. This is what I have told Dr 'Isa al-Kuwari, minister of information, and I have congratulated him about this achievement, which deserves the right sponsorship to reach this level of which we may be proud.

SUDAN

SHORTAGE OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS EASES

Khartoum AL-SAHAFAH in Arabic 1 Aug 79 p 1

[Article: "Great Improvement in Petroleum Products Situation: 113 Tanks Arrived Yesterday at Depots"]

[Text] AL-SAHAFAH learned that large quantities of petroleum products arrived in the capital. About 50 tanks of gasoline actually arrived the day before yesterday and were expected to be emptied at the depots of al-Shajarah. About 21 more tanks of gasoline also arrived yesterday, and 15 other tanks of gasoline shall arrive today around daybreak, while 17 tanks of gasoline are on their way here from Port Sudan and about 10 more tanks of gasoline are expected to be shipped today from there.

That was announced during the meeting headed by Mr Mustafa 'Uthman Hasan, minister of transportation, with the technical committee to supervise the loading and distribution of petroleum products in the capital and the countryside. The meeting checked the projects which have not been completed to date with reference to the elimination of operating difficulties at the depots and service stations.

It was mentioned by Mr 'Umar Mahmud, traffic and freight official of the railway department and chairman of the coordination and supervision committee, that his committee set up emergency power generators at both the Total and Mobil depots in addition to the emergency generators already existing at the Shell and Ajab depots. That was done in order to prevent power cuts at the depots, which usually entail problems preventing gasoline tanks from being emptied in time in addition to bringing communications and transportation traffic to a stop.

Radio transmitters were also installed at the depots of al-Shajarah and of the general petroleum department. The minister of transportation also referred to the repairs to be made to ensure prompt communications and remedy any failure rapidly. The chairman of the coordination and supervision committee mentioned that there are railway supervisors in Port Sudan, 'Atbarah, Khartoum and Kusti to supervise the operation of the fuel tanks and ensure their prompt removal and loading on the trains, as well as their return.

In addition, the minister of transportation instructed the committee members to meet every day at the Ministry of Transportation in order to proceed with a continuous inspection of the service pumps and supervise their operation.

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CSO: 4802

SUDAN

IMPROVEMENT IN RAIL SERVICE NOTED

Khartoum AL-SAHAFAH in Arabic 1 Aug 79 p 1

[Report by Muhammad Mustafa al-Hasan: "Great Improvement in Import-Export Rail Service: 1,383 Tons of Merchandise Transported on Railroads"]

[Text] During his general interview with AL-SAHAFAH, Minister of Transportation Mustafa 'Uthman asserted that there has been a great and marked improvement in the import-export service, and the railway has managed to transport most of the crops in an unprecedented way. He asserted that when the agricultural crops arrive at the time of the next harvest, the railway services will be perfectly ready to transport them, one by one, according to required priorities.

Mr 'Abd al-Ghafur Tawfiq, general manager of the freight service, explained to AL-SAHAFAH from 'Atbarah that the railway transported during the period from 1 January to 29 July 1979 about 901.257 tons of exports and about 480.426 tons of imports.

The general manager also pointed out that the railway managed to transport 86.084 tons of cotton, 6.653 tons of shucked beans, 31,040 tons of sesame seeds, 12.726 tons of gum, 2.960 tons of melon seeds, 7.019 tons of "karkadi," 22.310 tons of "ambaz," 665 tons of bran, 192 tons of dehydrated onions, 4.340 tons of castor-oil beans, 150 tons of prepared fodder, 166 tons of hides and 9.896 tons of chromite.

According to Mr 'Abd al-Ghafur Tawfiq, the railway services shall complete during this month the transportation of all the shipments of gum and beans, and the proposed program aims at transporting all the agricultural crops before the end of this year.

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CSO: 4802

WESTERN SAHARA

SAHARAN FOREIGN MINISTER REPEATS APPEAL FOR MOROCCAN WITHDRAWAL

Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 14 Sep 79 LD

[Text] Saharan Foreign Minister Ibrahim Hakim has once again called on Morocco to negotiate total withdrawal of Moroccan forces from all Saharan territory under the supervision of the special committee on the Western Saharan problem set up by the OAU. Ibrahim Hakim has invited this committee to convene meeting as soon as possible to implement the decisions of the Monrovia summit conference.

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